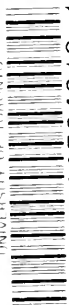


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# BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY

OF

## HIS OWN TIME,

FROM THE

### RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II.

TIL

CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE CHURCH AT UTRECHT,  
IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

To which is prefixed,

A SUMMARY RECAPITULATION OF AFFAIRS IN CHURCH AND STATE, FROM  
KING JAMES I. TO THE RESTORATION IN THE YEAR 1660.

Together with

THE AUTHOR'S LIFE, BY THE EDITOR.

AND SOME

*EXPLANATORY NOTES.*

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THE WHOLE REVISED AND CORRECTED BY HIM.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

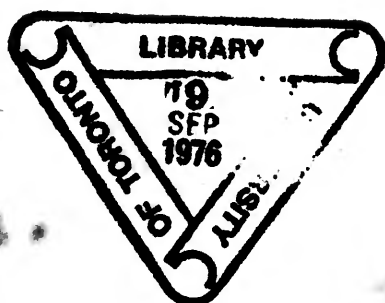
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THE  
HISTORY,

&c.

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BOOK V.

*Of the reign of King William and Queen Mary.*

I NOW begin, on the first day of May, 1705, to prosecute this work; and have before me a reign, that drew upon it an universal expectation of great things to follow from such auspicious beginnings; and from so general a joy as was spread over these nations, and all the neighbouring kingdoms and states, of whom some had apprehended a general depression, if not the total ruin of the protestant religion, and all of them saw such a progress made by the French, in the design of enslaving the rest of Europe, that the check which the Revolution in England seemed to promise, put a new life in those who before were sunk in despair. It seemed to be a double-bottomed monarchy, were there were two joint-sovereigns; but those who knew the Queen's temper and principles, had no apprehensions of divided counsels, or of a distracted government.

1689.  
The hopes  
of the new  
reign.

That which gave the most melancholy prospect, was the ill state of the King's health, whose stay so long at St. James's without exercise or hunting, which was so much used by him that it was become necessary, had brought him under such a weakness, as was like to have very ill effects; and the face he forced himself to set upon it, that it might not appear too much, made an impression on his temper. He was apt to be peevish: it put him under a necessity of being much in his closet, and of being silent and reserved; which agreeing so well with his natural disposition, made him go off from what all his friends had advised, and he had promised them he would set about, of being more visible, open, and communicative. The nation had been so much accustomed to this, in the two former reigns, that many studied to persuade him, it would be necessary for

The effects  
of the  
King's ill  
health.

1689.

his affairs to change his way, that he might be more accessible, and freer in his discourse. He seemed resolved on it: but he said his ill health made it impossible for him to execute it; and so he went on in his former way, or rather he grew more retired, and was not easily come at, nor spoke to. And in a very few days, after he was set on the throne, he went out to Hampton-Court, and from that palace he came into town only on council days: so that the face of a court, and the rendezvous, usual in the public rooms, was now quite broke. This gave an early and general disgust. The gaiety and the diversions of a court disappeared; and, though the Queen set herself to make up what was wanting in the King, by a great vivacity and cheerfulness; yet when it appeared that she meddled not in business, so that few found their account in making their court to her, though she gave wonderful content to all that came near her, yet few came.

The King found the air of Hampton-Court agreed so well with him, that he resolved to live the greatest part of the year there. But that palace was so very old built, and so irregular, that a design was formed of raising new buildings there, for the King and the Queen's apartments. This shewed a resolution to live at a distance from London: and the entering so soon on so expensive a building, afforded matter of censure to those, who were disposed enough to entertain it. And this spread a universal discontent in the city of London. And these small and almost indiscernable beginnings and seeds of ill humour, have ever since gone on in a very visible increase and progress.

A new ministry.

The first thing the King did was to choose a ministry, and to settle a council. The Earl of Shrewsbury was declared secretary of state, and had the greatest share of the King's confidence. No exception could be made to the choice, except on account of his youth. But he applied himself to business with great diligence, and maintained his candour and temper with more reservedness, than was expected from one of his age. It was for some time under consideration, who should be the other secretary; at last the Earl of Nottingham was pitched on. He had opposed the settlement with great earnestness, in his copious way of speaking: but he had always said, that though he would not make a King, yet upon his principles, he could obey

1689.



him better than those who were so much set on making one. The high church party did apprehend, that the opposition they had given the King's advancement, and the zeal that others had shewed for it, would alienate him from them, and throw him into other hands, from whom no good was to be expected for them; and they looked for severe revenges for the hardships they had put on these in the end of King Charles's reign. This grew daily upon that party, and made them begin to look back toward King James: so, not to provoke so great a body too much, it was thought advisable to employ the Earl of Nottingham. The great increase of chancery business had made many apprehend it was too much to be trusted to one person: so it was resolved to put the chancery in commission; and the Earl of Nottingham was proposed to be the first in the commission, but he refused it. So Maynard, Keck, and Rawlinson, three eminent lawyers, were made the three commissioners of the great seal; and, soon after that, the Earl of Nottingham was appointed secretary of state. This gave as much satisfaction to all the high party, as it begot jealousies and distrust in others. The one hoped for protection and favour by his means: they reckoned he would infuse all the prerogative notions into the King, and give him such a jealousy of every step that the others should make in prejudice of these, that from thence the King would see cause to suspect all the shew of kindness that they might put on to him, when at the same time they were undermining some of those prerogatives for which the Earl of Nottingham seemed to be so zealous. This had a great effect on the King, who being ignorant of our constitution, and naturally cautious, saw cause enough to dislike the heat he found among those who expressed much zeal for him; but who seemed, at the same time, to have with it a great mixture of republican principles: they, on the other hand, were much offended at the employing the Earl of Nottingham. And he gave them daily cause to be more displeased at it; for he set himself with a most eager partiality against the whole party, and against all the motions made by them: and he studied to possess the King with a very bad opinion of them. And whereas secretaries of state have a particular allowance for such spies, as they employ to procure intelligence, how exact soever he might be in procur-

The Earl of Nottingham's advancement unacceptable to the whigs.

1689.



ing foreign intelligence, he spared no cost nor pains to have an account of all that passed in the city, and in other angry cabals: and he furnished the King very copiously that way; which made a deep impression on him, and had very bad effects. The Earl of Darby was made Marquis of Carmarthen, and president of the council; and Lord Halifax had the privy seal. The last of these had gone into all the steps, that had been made for the King, with great zeal, and by that means was hated by the high party, whom for distinction sake I will hereafter call tories, and the other whigs—terms that I have spoken much against, and have ever hated: but, to avoid making always a longer description, I must use them, they being now become as common as if they had been words of our language. Lord Halifax soon saw that his friendship with the whigs was not like to last long: his opposing the exclusion stuck still deep with them, and the business of the quo warrantos, and the delivering up of charters, was cast on him; the slowness of relieving Ireland was also charged on him: he had for some time great credit with the King, though his mercurial wit was not well suited with the King's phlegm. Lord Carmarthen could not bear the equality, or rather the preference that seemed to be given to Lord Halifax, and therefore set on the storm that quickly broke out upon him.

Lord Mordaunt was made Earl of Monmouth, and first commissioner of the treasury; and Lord Delamer, made Earl of Warrington,\* was chancellor of the exchequer: Lord Godolphin was likewise brought into the treasury, to the great grief of the other two, who soon saw that the King considered him more than them both; for, as he understood treasury business well, so his calm and cold way suited the King's temper. The earls of Monmouth and Warrington, though both most violent whigs, became great enemies: the former was generous, and gave the inferior places freely; but sought out the men who were most noted for republican principles for them all: and the other, they said, sold every thing that was in his power. The privy council was composed chiefly of whigs.

The judges  
well chosen.

Nothing gave a more general satisfaction than the naming

\* He was not made Earl of Warrington till after his removal from the office of chancellor of the exchequer.

of the judges; the King ordered every privy counsellor to bring a list of twelve; and, out of these, twelve very learned and worthy judges were chosen. This nomination was generally well received over the nation. The first of these was Sir John Holt, made lord chief justice of England, then a young man for so high a post, who maintained it all his time with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage, and great dispatch: so that since the Lord Chief Justice Hale's time, that bench has not been so well filled as it was by him.

The King's chief personal favour lay between Bentinck and Sidney: the former was made Earl of Portland, and groom of the stole, and continued for ten years to be entirely trusted by the King, and served him with great fidelity and obsequiousness; but he could never bring himself to be acceptable to the English nation: the other was made, first, Lord Sidney, and then Earl of Rumney, and was put in several great posts. He was made secretary of state, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and master of the ordnance; but he was so set on pleasure, that he was not able to follow business with a due application. The earls of Devonshire and Dorset had the white staffs: the first was lord steward, and the other was lord chamberlain; and they, being both whigs, the household was made up of such, except where there were buyers for places, which were set to sale: and, though the King seemed to discourage that, yet he did not encourage propositions that were made for the detecting those practices. Thus was the court, the ministry, and the council composed. The admiralty was put in commission; and Herbert, made Earl of Torrington, was first in the commission. He tried to dictate to the board; and, when he found that did not pass upon them, he left it, and studied all he could to disparage their conduct: and it was thought he hoped to have been advanced to that high trust alone.

The first thing to be done was to turn the convention into a parliament, according to the precedent set in the year 1660. This was opposed by all the Tories. They said, writs were indispensable to the being of a parliament; and, though the like was done at the restoration, yet it was said that the convention was then called when there was no king nor great seal in England: and it was called by the

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The convention  
turned to a  
parliament.

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consent of the lawful king, and was done upon a true and visible, and not on a pretended necessity: and they added that, after all, even then the convention was not looked on as a legal parliament; its acts were ratified in a subsequent parliament, and from thence they had their authority. So it was moved, that the convention should be dissolved, and a new parliament summoned; for in the joy which accompanied the Revolution, men well affected to it were generally chosen; and it was thought that the damp, which was now spread in many parts of the nation, would occasion great changes in a new election: on the other hand, the necessity of affairs was so pressing, that no time was to be lost. A delay of forty days might be the total loss of Ireland, and stop all our preparations at sea: nor was it advisable, in so critical a time, to put the nation into the ferment, which a new election would occasion; and it was reasonable to expect, that those who had set the King on the throne, would be more zealous to maintain him there, than any new set of men could possibly be. And those who submitted to a king *de facto*, must likewise submit to a parliament *de facto*. So the bill passed, and a day was set for the call of both houses, and for requiring the members to take the oaths.

Some bishops leave the parliament.

Eight bishops absented themselves, who were Sancroft of Canterbury, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, Turner of Ely, Lloyd of Norwich, Ken of Bath and Wells, Frampton of Gloucester, and White of Peterborough. But, in the mean while, that they might recommend themselves by a shew of moderation, some of them moved the House of Lords, before they withdrew from it, for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension: and these were drawn and offered by the Earl of Nottingham; and, as he said to me, they were the same that he had prepared for the House of Commons in King Charles's time, during the debates of the exclusion; but then things of that kind were looked on as artifices, to lay the heat of that time, and to render the church party more popular. After those motions were made, the bishops that were in the House withdrew: Sancroft, Thomas, and Lake, never came: the two last died soon after. Ken was a man of a warm imagination; and at the time of the King's first landing, he declared heartily for him, and advised all the gentlemen that he saw to go and join with him. But, during the debates in the convention,



he went with great heat into the notion of a prince regent: and now, upon the call of the House, he withdrew into his diocese. He changed his mind again; and wrote a paper, persuading the clergy to take the oaths, which he shewed to Dr. Whitby, who read it, as the Dr. has told me often. His chaplain, Dr. Eyre, did also tell me, that he came with him to London, where at first he owned he was resolved to go to the House of Lords, and to take the oaths. But the first day after he came to town, he was prevailed on to change his mind; and he has continued ever since in a very warm opposition to the government. Sancroft went on in his unactive state, still refusing the oaths, but neither acting nor speaking, except in great confidence, to any against their taking them. These bishops did one thing very inconsistent with their other actions, and that could not be easily reconciled to the rules of good conscience. All presentations are directed to bishops, or to their chancellors; but, by a general agreement in the year 1660, the bishops resolved to except out of the patents, that they gave their chancellors the power of giving institution into cures, which before that the chancellors were empowered to give in the bishops' absence. Now the bishops were bound to see that the clergy, before they gave them institution, took the oaths to the government. In order, therefore, to decline the doing this, and yet avoid the actions of *quare impedit*, that they would be liable to, if they did not admit the clerks presented to them, they gave new patents to their chancellors, empowering them to give institution; which they knew could not be done, but by tendering the oaths. So they gave authority to laymen, to admit men to benefices, and to do that which they thought unlawful, as was the swearing to an usurper against the lawful king. Thus it appeared, how far the engagement of interest and parties can run men into contradictions.

Upon the bishops refusing the oaths, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, requiring all persons to take them by a prefixed day, under several forfeitures and penalties. The clergy that took them not, were to fall under suspension for six months, and at the end of those they were to be deprived. This was followed with a particular eagerness by some, who were known enemies to the church; and it was then generally believed, that a great part of the

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I was made  
bishop of  
Salisbury.

clergy would refuse the oaths: so they hoped to have an advantage against the church by this means. Hambden persuaded the King to add a period to a speech he made, concerning the affairs of Ireland, in which he proposed the admitting all protestants to serve in that war. This was understood to be intended for taking off the sacramental test, which was necessary by the law to qualify men for employments, and was looked on as the chief security the church of England had, as it excluded dissenters from all employments. And it was tried if a bargain could be made for excusing the clergy from the oaths, provided the dissenters might be excused from the sacrament. The King put this into his speech, without communicating it to the ministry; and it had a very ill effect. It was not only rejected by a great majority in both houses, but it very much heightened the prejudices against the King, as bearing no great affection to the church of England, when he proposed the opening such a door, which they believed would be fatal to them. The rejecting this, made the act imposing the oaths to be driven on with the more zeal. This was in debate, when I came into the House of Lords; for Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, died this winter: many spoke to the King in my favour, without my knowledge. The King made them no answer: but a few days after he was set on the throne, he, of his own motion, named me to that see; and he did it in terms more obliging than usually fell from him. When I waited on the Queen, she said, she hoped I would now put in practice those notions with which I had taken the liberty often to entertain her. All the forms of the *congrè délire*, and my election, were carried on with dispatch; but a great difficulty was in view. Sancroft would not see me, and he refused to consecrate me. So by law, when the mandate was brought to him, upon not obeying it, he must have been sued in a *premunire*; and, for some days, he seemed determined to venture that: but as the danger came near, he prevented it, by granting a commission to all the bishops of his province, or to any three of them, in conjunction with the Bishop of London, to exercise his metropolitical authority during pleasure. Thus he did authorise others to consecrate me, while yet he seemed to think it an unlawful act. This was so mean, that he himself was ashamed of it afterwards. But he

took an odd way to overthrow it: for he sent for his original warrant; and so took it out of the office, and got it into his own hands.

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I happened to come into the House of Lords, when two great debates were managed with much heat in it: the one was about the toleration and comprehension, and the other was about the imposing the oaths on the clergy. And I was engaged, at my first coming there, to bear a large share in both.

That which was long insisted on, in the House of Lords, was, that instead of the clause positively enacting, that the clergy should be obliged to take the oaths, the King might be empowered to tender them, and then the refusal was to be punished according to the clause, as it stood in the act. It was thought, such a power would oblige them to their good behaviour, and be an effectual restraint upon them; they would be kept quiet at least by it: whereas, if they came under deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, that would make them desperate, and set them on to undermine the government. It was said, that the clergy, by the offices of the church, did solemnly own their allegiance to God, in the sight of all their people; that no oath could lay deeper engagements on them, than those acts of religious worship did; and if they should either pass over those offices, or perform them otherwise than as the law required, there was a clear method, pursuant to the act of uniformity, to proceed severely against them. It was also said, that in many different changes of government, oaths had not proved so effectual a security as was imagined: distinctions were found out, and senses were put on words, by which they were interpreted so, as to signify but little, when a government came to need strength from them; and it ill became those, who had formerly complained of these impositions, to urge this with so much vehemence. On the other hand, it was urged, that no man ought to be trusted by a government, chiefly in so sacred a concern, who would not give security to it; especially, since the oath was brought to such low and general terms. The expedient that was proposed, would put a hardship upon the King, which was always to be carefully avoided. The day prefixed was at the distance of some months, so that men had time sufficient given them to study the point: and, if in that time

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they could not satisfy themselves as to the lawfulness of acknowledging the government, it was not fit that they should continue in the highest posts of the church. An exception of twelve was proposed, who should be subject to the law upon refusing the oaths, when required to it by the King; but that was rejected: and all the mitigation that was obtained, was a power to the King to reserve a third part of the profits of any twelve benefices he should name, to the incumbents who should be deprived by virtue of this act; and so it passed. I was the chief manager of the debate in favour of the clergy, both in the House of Lords and at the conferences with the Commons. But, seeing it could not be carried, I acquiesced the more easily; because, though in the beginning of these debates I was assured, that those who seemed resolved not to take the oaths, yet prayed for the King in their chapels; yet I found afterwards this was not true, for they named no king nor queen, and so it was easy to guess whom they meant by such an indefinite designation. I also heard many things that made me conclude they were endeavouring to raise all the opposition to the government possible.

An act of toleration.

The bill of toleration passed easily. It excused dissenters from all penalties for their not coming to church and for going to their separate meetings. There was an exception of Socinians: but a provision was put in it in favour of quakers; and, though the rest were required to take the oaths to the government, they were excused, upon making in lieu thereof a solemn declaration. They were to take out warrants for the houses they met in, and the justices of peace were required to grant them. Some proposed that the act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint upon the dissenters, that they might demean themselves so as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years now offered should end. But this was rejected: there was now an universal inclination to pass the act; but it could not be expected that the nation would be in the same good disposition towards them at another time. I shewed so much zeal for this act, as very much sunk my credit, which had risen from the approbation I had gained for opposing that which enacted the taking the oaths. As for the act of comprehension, some progress was made in it. But a proviso was offered, that, in imitation of the

notion for  
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sion.

acts passed in King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth's time, a number of persons, both of the clergy and laity, might be empowered to prepare such a reformation of things relating to the church, as might be offered to king and parliament, in order to the healing our divisions, and the correcting what might be amiss or defective in our constitution. This was pressed with great earnestness by many of the temporal lords. I at that time did imagine, that the clergy would have come into such a design with zeal and unanimity; and I feared this would be looked on by them as taking the matter out of their hands: and for that reason I argued so warmly against this, that it was carried by a small majority to let it fall. But I was convinced soon after that I had taken wrong measures; and that the method proposed by these lords, was the only one like to prove effectual: but this did not so recommend me to the clergy, as to balance the censure I came under, for moving, in another proviso of that bill, that the subscription, instead of assent and consent, should only be to submit with a promise of conformity. There was a proviso, likewise, in the bill, for dispensing with kneeling at the sacrament, and being baptized with the sign of the cross, to such as, after conference upon those heads, should solemnly protest they were not satisfied as to the lawfulness of them. That concerning kneeling, occasioned a vehement debate; for, the posture being the chief exception that the dissenters had, the giving up this was thought to be the opening a way for them to come into employments: yet it was carried in the House of Lords; and I declared myself zealous for it. For since it was acknowledged that the posture was not essential in itself, and that scruples, how ill grounded soever, were raised upon it, it seemed reasonable to leave the matter as indifferent in its practice as it was in its nature.

Those who had moved for this bill, and afterwards brought it into the House, acted a very disingenuous part: for, while they studied to recommend themselves by this shew of moderation, they set on their friends to oppose it; and such as were very sincerely and cordially for it, were represented as the enemies of the church, who intended to subvert it. When the bill was sent down to the House of Commons, it was to lie on the table; and, instead of pro-

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ceeding in it, they made an address to the King for summoning a convocation of the clergy to attend, according to custom, on the session of parliament. The party that was now beginning to be formed against the government, pretended great zeal for the church; and declared their apprehensions that it was in danger, which was imputed by many to the Earl of Nottingham's management. These, as they went heavily into the toleration, so they were much offended with the bill of comprehensien, as containing matters relating to the church, in which the representative body of the clergy had not been so much as advised with.

Nor was this bill supported by those who seemed most favourable to the dissenters: they set it up for a maxim that it was fit to keep up a strong faction both in church and state; and they thought it was not agreeable to that, to suffer so great a body as the presbyterians to be made more easy, or more inclinable to unite to the church: they also thought, that the toleration would be best maintained, when great numbers should need it, and be concerned to preserve it: so this good design being zealously opposed, and but faintly promoted, it fell to the ground.

An ill humour spread among the clergy.

The clergy began now to shew an implacable hatred to the nonconformists, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them; but wise and good men did very much applaud the quieting the nation by the toleration: it seemed to be suitable both to the spirit of the Christian religion, and to the interest of the nation. It was thought very unreasonable, that, while we were complaining of the cruelty of the church of Rome, we should fall into such practices among ourselves; chiefly, while we were engaging in a war, in the progress of which we would need the united strength of the whole nation.

Great gentleness towards papists.

This bill gave the King great content. He in his own opinion always thought, that conscience was God's province, and that it ought not to be imposed on; and his experience in Holland made him look on toleration as one of the wisest measures of government: he was much troubled to see so much ill humour spreading among the clergy, and by their means over a great part of the nation. He was so true to his principle herein, that he restrained the heat of some who were proposing severe acts against papists. He made them apprehend the advantage which that would

give the French, to alienate all the papists of Europe from us; who from thence might hope to set on foot a new catholic league, and make the war a quarrel of religion; which might have very bad effects. Nor could he pretend to protect the protestants in many places of Germany, and in Hungary, unless he could cover the papists in England from all severities on the account of their religion. This was so carefully infused into many, and so well understood by them, that the papists have enjoyed the real effects of the toleration, though they were not comprehended within the statute that enacted it.

While domestic matters were raising great heats at home, we saw the necessity of making vigorous preparations for the war abroad, and in Ireland. The King laid before both Houses the alliances formerly made by the crown of England with the states, and with the empire, together with the new ones that were now proposed, which made a rupture with France necessary. So, by the advices of both Houses, war was declared against France; and the necessary supplies, both for the quota that the King was to furnish, and for the reduction of Ireland, were provided.

The next care was a revenue for the support of the government. By a long course, and the practice of some ages, the customs had been granted to our kings for life: so the King expected that the like regard should be shewn for him. But men's minds were much divided in that matter. Some whigs, who, by a long opposition, and jealousy of the government, had wrought themselves into such republican principles, that they could not easily come off from them, set it up as a maxim not to grant any revenue but from year to year; or, at most, for a short term of years. This, they thought, would render the crown precarious, and oblige our kings to such a popular method of government as should merit the constant renewal of that grant. And they hoped that so uncertain a tenure might more easily bring about an entire change of government: for by the denying the revenue at any time, (except upon intolerable conditions,) they thought that might be easily effected, since it would render our kings so feeble, that they would not be able to maintain their authority. The Tories observing this, made great use of it, to beget in the King

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jealousies of his friends, with too much colour, and too great success. They resolved to reconcile themselves to the King by granting it; but at present only to look on, till the whigs, who now carried every thing, to which they set their full strength, should have refused it.

The chimney money discharged.

The King, as he had come through the western countries, from his first landing, had been in many places moved to discharge the chimney money, and had promised to recommend it to the parliament. He had done that so effectually, that an act passed discharging it; though it was so much opposed by the Tories, that it ran a great hazard in the House of Lords. Those who opposed it pretended that it was the only sure fund that could never fail in war, so that money would be freely advanced upon it: they said a few regulations would take away any grievance that might arise from it; but it was thought they were not willing that such an act should pass, as would render the King acceptable to the body of the nation. It was also thought, that the prospect they then had of a speedy revolution, in favour of King James, made some of them unwilling to pass an act that seemed to lay an obligation on him either to maintain it, or, by resuming his revenue, to raise the hatred of the nation higher against him. When the settling the King's revenue was brought under consideration, it was found there were anticipations and charges upon it, from which it seemed reasonable to clear it. So many persons were concerned in this, and the season of the year so far advanced, that it was pretended they had not time to examine that matter with due care: and, therefore, by a provisional act, they granted the King the revenue for one year; and many intended never to carry the grant but from year to year. This touched the King very sensibly: and many discourses, that passed among sour whigs in their cabals, were communicated to him by the Earl of Nottingham, by which he concluded he was in the hands of persons that did not intend to use him well.

A bill concerning the militia.

A bill was prepared concerning the militia, which, upon the matter, and in consequence of many clauses in it, took it in a great measure both from the crown, and out of the lords lieutenants; who, being generally peers, a bill that lessened their authority so much was not like to pass in the House of Lords: so it was let lie on the table. By this,



likewise, which was chiefly promoted by the whigs, the King came to think, that those who had raised him to the throne intended to depress his prerogative as much as they had exalted his person. He seemed to grow tender and jealous upon these points, the importance of every one of them being much aggravated by the Earl of Nottingham, who had furnished him with a scheme of all the points of the prerogative, and of their dependence one upon another; and he seemed so possessed with this, that many of those, who had formerly most of his confidence, found a coldness growing upon him, which increased their disgust, and made them apprehend they should again see a reign full of prerogative maxims. One thing the House of Commons granted, which was very acceptable to the King: they gave the states about 600,000*l.* for the charge they had been at in the fleet and army which they furnished the King with at the Revolution.

They could not be brought to another point, though often and much pressed to it by the King. He thought nothing would settle the minds of the nation so much as an act of indemnity, with proper exceptions of some criminals that should be left to justice. Jefferies was in the Tower; Wright, who had been lord chief justice, and some of the judges, were in Newgate; Graham and Burton, who had been the wicked solicitors in the former reigns, were in prison; but the hottest of the whigs would not set this on. They thought it best to keep many under the lash; they intended severe revenges for the blood that had been shed, and for the many unjust things that had been done in the end of King Charles's reign; they saw that the clogging the indemnity, with many comprehensive exceptions, would create King James a great party; so they did not think it proper to offer at that: yet they resolved to keep them still in their power, till a better opportunity for falling on them should offer itself: therefore they proceeded so slowly in that matter, that the bill could not be brought to a ripeness during this session. It is true, the great mildness of the King's temper, and the gentleness of his government, which was indeed rather liable to censure, as being too remiss, set people's minds much at ease; and, if it gave too much boldness to those, who began to set up an open opposition to him, yet it gained upon the greater part of the na-

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tion, who saw none of those moving spectacles that had been so common in former reigns: and all promised themselves happy days under so merciful a prince. But angry men put a wicked construction on the earnestness the King shewed for an act of indemnity: they said he intended to make use of a set of prerogative men as soon as legally he could; and therefore he desired the instruments of King James's illegal government might be once secured, that so he might employ them. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington were infusing jealousies of the King into their party, with the same industry that the Earl of Nottingham was at the same time instilling into the King jealousies of them; and both acted with too much success, which put matters much out of joint: for though the Earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire did all they could to stop the progress and effects of those suspicions with which the whigs were possessed, yet they had not credit enough to do it. The Earl of Shrewsbury, though he had more of the King's favour, yet he had not strength enough to resist the Earl of Nottingham's pompous and tragical declamations.

The bill of  
rights.

There was a bill of great importance sent up by the Commons to the Lords that was not finished this session. It was a bill declaring the rights and liberties of England, and the succession to the crown, as had been agreed by both houses of parliament to the King and Queen and their issue; and, after them, to the Princess Anne and her issue; and, after these, to the King and his issue. A clause was inserted disabling all papists from succeeding to the crown, to which the Lords added, "or such as should marry papists." To this I proposed an additional clause, absolving the subjects in that case from their allegiance. This was seconded by the Earl of Shrewsbury, and it passed without any opposition or debate; which amazed us all, considering the importance of it: but the King ordered me to propose the naming the Dutchess of Hanover, and her posterity, next in the succession. He signified his pleasure in this also to the ministers: but he ordered me to begin the motion in the House, because I had already set it on foot; and the Duke of Hanover had now other thoughts of the matter, and was separating himself from the interests of France. The Lords agreed to the proposi-

tion without any opposition: so it was sent down to the Commons. There were great debates there upon it. Hambden pressed it vehemently; but Wildman and all the republican party opposed it. Their secret reason seemed to be a design to extinguish monarchy, and therefore to substitute none beyond the three that were named, that so the succession might quickly come to an end: but it not being decent to own this, all that they pretended was, that there being many in the lineal succession after the three that were named, who were then of the church of Rome, the leaving to them a possibility to succeed, upon their turning protestants, might have a good effect on them, and dispose them to hearken to instruction; all which would be defeated by a declaration in favour of the Dutchess.

To this it was answered, in a free conference, that for that very reason it was fit to make this declaration; since nothing could bring us into a more certain danger, than a pretended conversion of a false convert, who might by such a disguise ascend the throne, and so work our ruin by secret artifices. Both houses adhered after the free conference: so the bill fell for that time; but it was resolved to take it up at the opening of the next session. And the King thought it was not then convenient to renew the motion of the Dutchess of Hanover, of which he ordered me to write her a particular account. It was fit once to have the bill passed that enacted the perpetual exclusion of all papists; for that, upon the matter, brought the succession to their door. And if any in the line before her should pretend to change, as it was not very likely to happen, so it would not be easily believed: so it was resolved to carry this matter no further at this time. The bill passed without any opposition in the beginning of the next session, which I mention here that I might end this matter all at once. The present session was drawn to a great length, and was not ended till August; and then it broke up with a great deal of ill humour.

One accident happened this summer, of a pretty extraordinary nature, that deserves to be remembered. A fisherman, between Lambeth and Vauxhall, was drawing a net pretty close to the channel; and a great weight was, not without some difficulty, drawn to the shore, which when taken up was found to be the great seal of England.

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King  
James's  
great seal  
found in the  
Thames.

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King James had called for it from the Lord Jefferies, the night before he went away, as intending to make a secret use of it, for pardons or grants. But it seems, when he went away, he thought either, that the bulk or weight of it made it inconvenient to be carried off, or that it was to be hereafter of no more use to him: and, therefore, that it might not be made use of against him, he threw it into the Thames. The fisherman was well rewarded, when he brought the great seal to the King: and by his order it was broke.

The state of  
affairs of  
Ireland.

But now I must look over to the affairs of Ireland, and to King James's motions. Upon his coming to the court of France, he was received with great shews of tenderness and respect; the French king assuring him, that, as they had both the same interests, so he would never give over the war, till he had restored him to his throne. The only prospect he now had, was to keep up his party in Ireland and Scotland. The message from Tirconnel, for speedy supplies, was very pressing: and his party in Scotland sent one Lindsay over to him, to offer him their service, and to ask what assistance they might depend upon. The French ministry was at this time much divided. Louvois had the greatest credit, and was very successful in all his counsels; so that he was most considered. But Seignelay was believed to have more personal favour, and to be more entirely united to Madam Maintenon. These two were in a high competition for favour, and hated one another. Seignelay had the marine, as the other had the army, for his province: so, King James having the most dependence on the marine, and looking on the secretary for that post as the most powerful favourite, made his chief application to him; which set Louvois to cross and retard every thing that was proposed for his service: so that matters for him went on slowly, and very defectively. There was another circumstance in King James's affairs, that did him much hurt: Lausun, whose adventures will be found in the French history, had come over to King James, and offered him his service, and had attended on the Queen when she went over to France. He had obtained a promise of King James, that he should have the command of such forces, as the King of France would assist him with. Louvois hated Lausun; nor did the King of France like to employ him:

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so Louvois sent to King James, desiring him to ask of the King of France, Souvray, a son of his, whom he was breeding to serve in war, to command the French troops. But King James had so engaged himself to Lausun, that he thought he could not in honour depart from it; and, ever after that, we were told, that Louvois studied, by all the ways he could think of, to disparage him, and all the propositions he made: yet he got about 5000 Frenchmen to be sent over with him to Ireland, but no great supplies in money. Promises were sent the Scots of great assistance that should be sent from Ireland: they were encouraged to make all possible opposition in the convention: and, as soon as the season of the year would admit of it, they were ordered to gather together in the highlands, and to keep themselves in safe places there, till further orders should be sent them. With these, and with a small supply in money, of about five or six thousand pounds, for buying ammunition and arms, Lindsay was sent back. I had such a character given me of him, that I entertained good thoughts of him: so, upon his return, he came first to me, and pretended he had gone over on private affairs, being deeply engaged in debt for the Earl of Melfort, whose secretary he had been. I understood from him, that King James had left Paris to go for Ireland: so I sent him to the Earl of Shrewsbury's office; but there was a secret management with one of the under secretaries there for King James: so he was not only dismissed, but got a pass warrant from Dr. Wynne, to go to Scotland. I had given the Earl of Shrewsbury such a character of the man, that he did more easily believe him: but he knew nothing of the pass warrant. So, my easiness to think well of people, was the chief occasion of the mischief that followed, on his not being clapped up and more narrowly examined. Upon King James's landing in Ireland, he marched his army from Kinsale to Ulster. And, when it was altogether, it consisted of 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse. It is true, the Irish were now as insolent as they were undisciplined: and they began to think they must be masters of all the King's counsels. A jealousy arose between them and the French: they were soon on very bad terms; and scarce ever agreed in their advices: all King James's party, in the Isle of Britain, pressed his settling the affairs of Ire-

King James  
came over  
thither.

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land the best he could, and his bringing over the French, and such of the Irish as he could best govern, and depend on; and advised him to land in the north of England, or in the west of Scotland.

The siege of  
Londonderry.

But the first thing that was to be done, was to reduce Londonderry. In order to this, two different advices were offered. The one was to march with a great force, and to take it immediately; for the town was not capable of resisting, if vigorously attacked: the other was to block it up so that in a little time it should be forced to surrender, and to turn to other more vigorous designs. But, whereas either of these advices might have been pursued with advantage, a third advice was offered, but I know not by whom, which was the only bad one that could be proposed; and yet, by a sort of fatality, which hung over that King, it was followed by him; and that was, to press the town by a slow siege, which, as was given out, would bring the Irish into the methods of war, and would accustom them to fatigue and discipline. And this being resolved on, King James sent a small body before it, which was often changed. And by these he continued the siege above two months, in which the poor inhabitants formed themselves into great order, and came to generous resolutions of enduring the last extremities. They made some sallies, in which the Irish always ran away, and left their officers; so that many of their best officers were killed. Those within suffered little but by hunger, which destroyed near two-thirds of their number. One convoy, with two regiments, and provisions, was sent to their relief; but they looked on the service as desperate, being deceived by Lundy, who was the governor of the place, and had undertaken to betray it to King James; but, he finding them jealous of him, came to the convoy, and persuaded them that nothing could be done: so they came back, and Lundy with them. Yet the poor inhabitants, though thus forsaken, resolved still to hold out; and sent over such an account of the state they were in, that a second and greater convoy was sent, with about 5000 men, commanded by Kirk, who, after he came in sight, made not that haste to relieve them that was necessary, considering the misery they were in. They had a river that came up to their town; but the Irish had laid a boom and chains across it,

and had planted batteries for defending it: yet a ship, sailing up with wind and tide, broke through; and so the town was relieved, and the siege raised in great confusion. 1689.  
Was at last  
raised.

Iniskillin had the same fate. The inhabitants entered into resolutions of suffering any thing rather than fall into the hands of the Irish. A considerable force was sent against them; but, through their courage, and the cowardice of the Irish, they held out.

All this while, an army was preparing in England to be sent over for the reduction of Ireland, commanded by Schomberg, who was made a duke in England, and to whom the parliament gave 100,000*l.* for the services he had done. The levies were carried on in England with great zeal, and the bodies were quickly full; but, though both officers and soldiers shewed much courage and affection to the service, yet they were raw, without experience, and without skill. Schomberg had a quick and happy passage with about 10,000 men. He landed at Belfast, and brought the forces that lay in Ulster together. His army, when strongest, was not above 14,000 men; and he had not above 2000 horse. He marched on to Dundalk, and there posted himself. King James came to Ardee, within five or six miles of him, being above thrice his number. Schomberg had not the supplies from England that had been promised him; much treachery or ravenousness appeared in many who were employed; and he, finding his numbers so unequal to the Irish, resolved to lie on the defensive. He lay there six weeks in a very rainy season. His men, for want of due care and good management, contracted such diseases, that he lost almost the one half of his army. Some blamed him for not putting things more to hazard. It was said, that he measured the Irish by their numbers, and not by their want of sense and courage. Such complaints were sent of this to the King, that he wrote twice to him, pressing him to put somewhat to the venture; but he saw the enemy was well posted and well provided, and he knew they had several good officers among them. If he had pushed matters, and had met with a misfortune, his whole army, and consequently all Ireland, would have been lost; for he could not have made a regular retreat. The sure game was to preserve his army; and that would save Ulster, and keep matters entire for another

Duke  
Schomberg  
with an ar-  
my went to  
Ireland.

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year. This was censured by some; but better judges thought the managing this campaign as he did, was one of the greatest parts of his life. The Irish made some poor attempts to beat up his quarters; but even where they surprised his men, and were much superior in number, they were so shamefully beat back, that this increased the contempt the English naturally had for them. In the end of October all went into winter-quarters.

Affairs at  
sea.

Our operations on the sea were not very prosperous. Herbert was sent with a fleet to cut off the communication between France and Ireland. The French had sent over a fleet, with a great transport of stores and ammunition. They had landed their loading, and were returning back. As they came out of Bantry Bay, Herbert engaged them. The wind was against him; so that it was not possible for the greatest part of the fleet to come up and enter into action; and so those who engaged were forced to retire with some disadvantage: but the French did not pursue him. He came back to Portsmouth, in order to refit some of his ships, and went out again, and lay before Brest till the end of summer: but the French fleet did not come out any more all that summer; so that ours lay some months at sea to no purpose. But, if we lost few of our seamen in the engagement, we lost a great many by reason of the bad victualling. Some excused this because it was so late in the year before funds were made for it; while others imputed it to base practices, and worse designs. So affairs had every where a very melancholy face.

Affairs in  
Scotland.

I now turn to give an account of the proceedings in Scotland. A convention of the states was summoned there, in the same manner as in England. Duke Hamilton was chosen president: and a letter being offered to them from King James by Lindsay, they would not receive nor read it; but went on to state the several violations of their constitution and laws, made by King James. Upon these it was moved, that a judgment should be given, declaring that he had forfeited his right to the crown. Upon this, three parties were formed: one was composed of all the bishops and some of the nobility, who opposed these proceedings against the King, as contrary to their laws and oaths. Others thought that their oaths were only to the King, as having the executive power to support him in

Debates in  
the conven-  
tion.



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that; but that if he set himself to invade and assume the legislature, he renounced his former authority by subverting that upon which it was founded: so they were for proceeding to a declaratory judgment. A third party was formed of those who agreed with the former in their conclusion; but not in coming to so speedy a determination. They thought it was the interest of Scotland to be brought under the laws of England, and to be united to the parliament of England; and that this was the properest time for doing that to the best advantage; since England would be obliged, by the present state of affairs, to receive them upon good terms. They were, therefore, willing to proceed against King James; but they thought it not reasonable to make too much haste in a new settlement; and were for maintaining the government, in an interregnum, till the union should be perfected, or at least put in a probable way. This was specious, and many went into it: but, since it tended to the putting a stop to a full settlement, all that favoured King James joined in it; for by this more time was gained. To this project it was objected, that the union of the two kingdoms must be a work of time; since many difficulties would arise in any treaty about it; whereas the present circumstances were critical, and required a speedy decision and quick provision to be made for their security; since, if they continued in such a neutral state, they would have many enemies, and no friends: and the zeal that was now working among them for presbytery, must raise a greater aversion than ordinary, in the body that was for the church of England, to any such treaty with them.

While much heat was occasioned by this debate, great numbers came armed from the western counties, on pretence to defend the convention; for the Duke of Gordon was still in the castle of Edinburgh, and could have done them much harm, though he lay there in a very inoffensive state. He thought the best thing he could do, was, to preserve that place long for King James; since to provoke the convention, would have drawn a siege and ruin upon him with too much precipitation, while there was not a force in the field ready to come and assist him: so it was said, there was no need of such armed companies,

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A rising designed there.

The Earl of Dundee had been at London, and had fixed a correspondence both with England and France; though he had employed me to carry messages from him to the King, to know what security he might expect, if he should go and live in Scotland without owning his government. The King said, if he would live peaceably and at home, he would protect him: to this he answered, that, unless he were forced to it, he would live quietly; but he went down with other resolutions, and all the party resolved to submit to his command. Upon his coming to Edinburgh, he pretended he was in danger from those armed multitudes: and so he left the convention, and went up and down the highlands, and sent his agents about, to bring together what force they could gather. This set on the conclusion of the debates of the convention.

King James was judged there.

They passed the judgment of forfeiture on King James. And on the 11th of April, the day in which the King and Queen were crowned, with the ordinary solemnities at Westminster, they declared William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland. But with this, as they ordered the coronation oath to be tendered to them, so they drew up a claim of rights, which they pretended were the fundamental and unalterable laws of the kingdom. By one of these it was declared, that the reformation in Scotland having been begun by a party among the clergy, all prelacy in that church was a great and insupportable grievance to that kingdom. It was an absurd thing to put this in a claim of rights; for which not only they had no law, but which was contrary to many laws then in being: so that, though they might have offered it as a grievance, there was no colour for pretending it was a national right. But they had a notion among them, that every article that should be put in the claim of rights, became an unalterable law, and a condition upon which the crown was to be held: whereas, grievances were such things as were submitted to the King and parliament, to be redressed, or not, as they should see cause. But the bishops and those who adhered to them having left the convention, the presbyterians had a majority of voices to carry every thing as they pleased, how unreasonable so-

They pass a claim of rights.

ever. And upon this, the abolishing episcopacy in Scotland was made a necessary article of the new settlement.

Soon after the King came to St. James's, the episcopal party there had sent up the Dean of Glasgow, whom they ordered to come to me; and I introduced him to the then Prince. He was sent to know what his intentions were with relation to them: he answered, he would do all he could to preserve them, granting a full toleration to the presbyterians; but this was in case they concurred in the new settlement of that kingdom; for if they opposed that, and if, by a great majority in parliament, resolutions should be taken against them, the King could not make a war for them; but yet he would do all that was in his power to maintain such of them as should live peaceably in their functions. This he ordered me likewise to write back, in answer to what some bishops and others had writ to me upon that subject; but the Earl of Dundee, when he went down, possessed them with such an opinion of another speedy revolution that would be brought about in favour of King James, that they resolved to adhere firmly to his interests; so they declaring in a body with so much zeal in opposition to the new settlement, it was not possible for the King to preserve that government there; all those who expressed their zeal for him being equally zealous against that order.

Among those who appeared in this convention, none distinguished himself more than Sir James Montgomery, a gentleman of good parts, but of a most unbridled heat, and of a restless ambition: he bore the greatest share in the whole debate, and promised himself a great post in the new government. Duke Hamilton presided with great discretion and courage; so that the bringing the settlement so soon to a calm conclusion was chiefly owing to him. A petition of grievances, relating to the lords of the articles, the judges, the coin, and several other matters, was also settled; and three commissioners were sent, one from every state, to the King and Queen, with the tender of the crown, with which they were also to tender them the coronation oath, and the claim of rights; and, when the oath was taken, they were next to offer the petition for the redress of grievances. The three commissioners were, the Earl of Argyle for the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, or, as

Episcopacy  
by this was  
abolished.

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they call them, for the barons, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs. When the King and Queen took the oaths, the King explained one word in the oath, by which he was bound "to repress heresies," that he did not by this bind himself to persecute any for their conscience; and now he was King of Scotland, as well as of England and Ireland.

A ministry  
in Scotland.

The first thing to be done was, to form a ministry in Scotland, and a council; and to send instructions for turning the convention into a parliament, in which the Duke of Hamilton was to represent the King, as his commissioner. Before the King had left the Hague, Fagel had so effectually recommended Dalrymple, the father, to him, that he was resolved to rely chiefly on him for advice; and, though he had heard great complaints of him, as indeed there was some ground for them, yet, since his son was sent one of the three, upon so great a deputation, he concluded from thence that the family was not so much hated as he had been informed; so he continued still to be advised by him. The episcopal party were afraid of Montgomery's being made secretary, from whom they expected nothing but extreme severities; so they set themselves to divert that; and the Lord Melville, who had married the Dutchess of Monmouth's sister, and had continued from 1660 firm to presbytery, and had been of late forced to leave the kingdom, was looked on as an easy man, who would have credit enough to restrain the fury of that party; so he was made sole secretary of state, which proved a very unhappy step; for, as he was by his principle bigotted to presbytery, and ready to sacrifice every thing to their humours, so he proved to be in all respects a narrow-hearted man, who minded his own interest more than either that of the King or of his country. This choice gave a great distaste; and that was followed by a ministry, in the framing of which he had the chief hand, who were weak and passionate men. All offices were split into commissions, that many might have some share; but it rendered them all contemptible: and, though Montgomery had a considerable post offered him, yet his missing that he aimed at stuck deep, and began to work in him an aversion to the King, which broke out afterwards into much fury and plotting against him. Nor did Duke Hamilton think that he was considered in the new

model of the ministry, as he deserved, and might justly have expected.

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A faction  
raised in  
Scotland.

The parliament there was opened with much ill humour ; and they resolved to carry the redress of grievances very far. Lord Melville hoped to have gained the presbyterian party, by sending instructions to Duke Hamilton to open the session with an act in favour of presbytery ; but the majority resolved to begin with their temporal concerns. So the first grievance to which a redress was desired, was the power of the lords of the articles, that relating so immediately to the parliament itself. The King consented to a proper regulation, as that the number should be enlarged and changed as often as the parliament should desire it, and that the parliament might bring matters before them, though they were rejected by the lords of the articles. This answered all the just complaints that had been made of that part of the constitution : but the King thought it was the interest of the crown to preserve it thus regulated ; yet it was pretended that, if the name and shadow of that were still kept up, the parliament would, in some time, be insensibly brought under all those restraints that were now to be provided against ; so they moved to take it quite away. Duke Hamilton writ long letters both to the King and to the Lord Melville, giving a full account of the progress of an ill humour that was got among them, and of the ill consequence it was like to have ; but he had no answer from the King, and Lord Melville writ him back dark and doubtful orders ; so he took little care how matters went, and was not ill pleased to see them go wrong. The revenue was settled on the King for life ; and they raised the money, which was necessary for maintaining a small force in that kingdom, though the greatest part of an army of 6000 men was paid by England. But even the presbyterians began to carry their demands high ; they proposed to have the King's supremacy, and the right of patronage taken away ; and they asked so high an authority to their government, that Duke Hamilton, though of himself indifferent as to those matters, yet would not agree to them. He thought these broke in too much on their temporal concerns ; and would establish a tyranny in presbytery that could not be easily born. He writ to me very fully on that head, and I took the liberty to speak sometimes to the King on those subjects ; my design being

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chiefly to shelter the episcopal clergy, and to keep the change, that was now to be made, on such a foot, that a door might still be kept open: but Lord Melville had possessed the King with such a notion, that it was necessary for his service that the presbyterians should know that I did not at all meddle in those matters, otherwise they would take up a jealousy of every thing that was done, and that this might make them carry their demands much further: so I was shut out from all meddling in those matters; and yet I was then, and still continued to be, much loaded with this prejudice, that I did not study to hinder those changes that were then made in Scotland. And all the King's enemies in England continued still to charge him for the alterations then made in Scotland, though it was not possible, had he been ever so zealous for episcopacy, to have preserved it at that time; and I could do no more than I did, both for the order itself, and for all those who adhered to it there. A new debate was set on foot in that parliament concerning the judges. By the law there, when the king names a judge, he ought to be examined by other judges, whether he is qualified as the law directs; but, in the year 1661, because the bench was to be filled with a new set of judges, so that there was none to examine the rest, the nomination the King then made was read in parliament; and no objection being made to any of them, they did upon that sit and act as judges. It was expected that the same method should be followed at this time: but, instead of that, the King continued such a number of the former judges as was sufficient to examine those who were now to be advanced; so that was ordered to be done. Upon this, those who opposed every thing pretended that the nomination ought to be made in parliament; and they had prepared objections against every one that was upon the list, intending by this to put a public affront on one of the first and most important actions of the King's government. Duke Hamilton had a positive instruction sent him not to suffer this matter to be brought into parliament; yet he saw the party was so set, and so strong, that they had a clear majority; nor did he himself very much approve of the nomination, chiefly that of old Dalrymple, soon after made Lord Stair, to be president; so he discontinued the parliament.

But while those animosities were thus fomented, the Earl of Dundee had got together a considerable body of gentlemen, with some thousands of highlanders. He sent several messengers over to Ireland, pressing King James to come either to the north of England or to Scotland: but, at the same time, he desired that he would not bring the Lord Melfort over with him, or employ him more in Scotch business, and that he would be contented with the exercise of his own religion. It may be easily supposed that all this went against the grain with King James; and that the Lord Melfort disparaged all the Earl of Dundee's undertakings. In this he was much supported by the French near that King, who had it given them in charge, (as a main instruction,) to keep him up to a high owning of his religion, and of all those who were of it; and not to suffer him to enter into any treaty or conditions with his protestant subjects, by which the papists should in any sort suffer, or be so much as discouraged. The Irish were willing enough to cross the seas to England, but would not consent to the going over to Scotland: so the Earl of Dundee was furnished with some small store of arms and ammunition, and had kind promises, encouraging him and all that joined with him.

Mackay, a general officer, that had served long in Holland, with great reputation, and who was the most pious man I ever knew in a military way, was sent down to command the army in Scotland. He was one of the best officers of the age when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute orders; for he was both diligent, obliging, and brave; but he was not so fitted for command. His piety made him too apt to mistrust his own sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in any thing where there might be a needless effusion of blood. He followed the Earl of Dundee's motions, who was less encumbered with cannon and other baggage, and so marched quicker than it was possible for him to follow: his men were, for the most part, new levied, and without experience; but he had some old bodies on whom he depended. The heads of the clans among the highlanders promised to join him; but most of them went to the Earl of Dundee. At last, after many marches and motions, they came to an engagement at Gillycranky, some few miles above Dunkeld: the ground was

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A rising in  
Scotland.

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narrow, and Lord Dundee had the advantage; he broke through Mackay's army, and they ran for it; and probably, if the Earl of Dundee had outlived that day, the victory might have been pursued far, but a random shot put an end to his life, and to the whole design; for Mackay rallied his men, and made such a stand, that the other side fell into great disorder, and could never be formed again into a considerable body: a fort was soon after built at Inner-locky, which was called Fort William, and served to cut off the communication between the northern and southern highlanders.

During all these public disorders, that happened in so many different places, the trade suffered considerably: for the French, not setting out a fleet any more, sent out so many cruisers and privateers into our seas, that England thereby suffered great losses; there not being at that time a sufficient number of frigates to convoy and secure the merchant-men. We seemed to be masters at sea, and yet were great losers there.

Foreign  
affairs.

Affairs went much better on the Rhine. The imperial army, commanded by the Duke of Lorraine, took Mentz, which the French had entered, after they took Philipsburg: the siege was slow and long, but prosperous in its conclusion: and by this means Franconia, which before lay exposed, was now covered. The Elector of Brandenburg came down with an army, and cleared the archbishopric of Cologne, which was before possessed by French garrisons. Keizerwart and Bonne held him some time; but the rest were soon taken: so now the Rhine was open all up to Mentz. Nothing passed in Flanders, where Prince Waldeck commanded; and the campaign ended without any misfortunes on that side.

A jealousy  
of the King  
spread  
among the  
English  
clergy.

I now turn to the affairs of England during the recess. The clergy generally took the oaths, though with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their conscience. The King was suspected by them, by reason of the favour shewed to dissenters, but chiefly for his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland, and his consenting to the setting up presbytery there. This gave some credit to the reports, that were with great industry infused into many of them, of the King's coldness, at best, if not his aversion,



to the church of England. The leading men in both universities, chiefly Oxford, were possessed of this; and it began to have very ill effects over all England. Those who did not carry this so far as to think, as some said they did, that the church was to be pulled down, yet said a latitudinarian party was like to prevail, and to engross all preferments. These were thought less bigotted to outward ceremonies; so now it was generally spread about, that men zealous for the church would be neglected, and that those who were more indifferent in such matters, would be preferred. Many of the latter had managed the controversies with the church of Rome with so much clearness, and with that success, that the papists, to revenge themselves, and to blast those whom they considered as their most formidable enemies, had cast aspersions on them as Socinians, and as men who denied all mysteries. And now, some angry men at Oxford, who apprehended that those divines were likely to be most considered in this reign, took up the same method of calumny, and began to treat them as Socinians. The Earl of Clarendon, and some of the bishops, who had already incurred the suspension, for not taking the oaths to the government, took much ill-natured pains to spread these slanders. Six bishoprics happened to fall within this year: Salisbury, Chester, Bangor, Worcester, Chichester, and Bristol: so that the King named six bishops within six months. And the persons promoted to these sees, were, generally, men of those principles. The proceedings in Scotland cast a great load on the King: he could not hinder the change of the government of that church, without putting all his affairs in great disorder. The episcopal party went almost universally into King James's interests: so that the presbyterians were the only party that the King had in that kingdom. The King did indeed assure us, and myself in particular, that he would restrain and moderate the violence of the presbyterians. Lord Melville did also promise the same thing very solemnly: and at first he seemed much set upon it. But when he saw so great a party formed against himself, and, since many of the presbyterians inclined to favour them, and to set themselves in an opposition to the court, he thought it was the King's interest, or at least his own, to engage that party entirely; and he found nothing could do

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that so effectually, as to abandon the ministers of the episcopal persuasion to their fury. He set up the Earl of Crawford as the head of his party, who was passionate in his temper, and was out of measure zealous in his principles; he was chosen to be the president of the parliament. He received and encouraged all the complaints that were made of the episcopal ministers: the convention, when they had passed the votes, declaring the King and Queen, ordered a proclamation to be read the next Sunday, in all the churches of Edinburgh, and in all the other churches in the kingdom by a certain prefixed day, but which was so near at hand, that it was scarce possible to lay proclamations all round the nation within the time; and it was absolutely impossible for the clergy to meet together, and come to any resolution among themselves: for the most part, the proclamations were not brought to the ministers till the morning of the Sunday in which they were ordered to be read; so this having the face of a great change of principles, many could not on the sudden resolve to submit to it: some had not the proclamations brought to them till the day was past: many of these read it the Sunday following. Some of those who did not think fit to read the proclamation, yet obeyed it; and continued, after that, to pray for the King and Queen. Complaints were brought to the council of all those who had not read nor obeyed the proclamation, and they were in a summary way deprived of their benefices. In executing this, Lord Crawford shewed much eagerness and violence. Those who did not read the proclamation on the day appointed, had no favour, though they did it afterwards; and upon any word that fell from them, either in their extemporary prayers, or sermons, that shewed disaffection to the government, they were also deprived: all these things were published up and down England, and much aggravated; and raised the aversion that the friends of the church had to the presbyterians so high, that they began to repent their having granted a toleration to a party, that, where they prevailed, shewed so much fury against those of the episcopal persuasion. So that such of us as had laboured to excuse the change that the King was forced to consent to, and had promised, in his name, great moderation towards our friends in that kingdom, were much out of countenance

when we saw the violence with which matters were carried there. These things concurred to give the clergy such ill impressions of the King, that we had little reason to look for success, in a design that was then preparing for the convocation, for whom a summons was issued out to meet during the next session of parliament.

It was told, in the history of the former reign, that the clergy did then express an inclination to come to a temper with relation to the presbyterians, and such other dissenters as could be brought into a comprehension with the church: the bishops had mentioned it in their petition to King James, for which they were tried: and his present Majesty had promised to endeavour an union between the church and the dissenters, in that declaration, that he brought over with him: but it seemed necessary to prepare and digest that matter carefully, before it should be offered to the convocation. Things of such a nature ought to be judged of by a large number of men; but must be prepared by a smaller number well chosen: yet it was thought a due respect to the church, to leave the matter wholly in the hands of the clergy. So, by a special commission under the great seal, ten bishops and twenty divines were empowered to meet, and prepare such alterations in the book of Common Prayer and canons, as might be fit to lay before the convocation. This was become necessary, since by the submission which the clergy in convocation made to King Henry VIII. which was confirmed in parliament, they bound themselves not to attempt any new canons, without obtaining the King's leave first, and that under the pains of a *premunire*. It was looked on, therefore, as the properest way, to obtain the King's leave to have a scheme of the whole matter put in order, by a number of bishops and divines: great care was taken to name these so impartially, that no exceptions could lie against any of them: they, upon this, sat closely to it for several weeks: they had before them all the exceptions that either the puritans before the war, or the nonconformists since the restoration, had made to any of the church service: they had also many propositions and advices that had been offered, at several times, by many of our bishops and divines, upon those heads; matters were well considered, and freely and calmly debated; and all was digested into an entire correction of

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A comprehension attempted.

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every thing that seemed liable to any just objection. We had some very rigid as well as very learned men among us; though the most rigid either never came to our meetings, or they soon withdrew from us, declaring themselves dissatisfied with every thing of that nature: some telling us plainly that they were against all alterations whatsoever. They thought too much was already done for the dissenters in the toleration that was granted them; but that they would do nothing to make that still easier. They said further, that the altering the customs and constitution of our church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was like to have no other effect on them but to make them more insolent; as if the church, by offering these alterations, seemed to confess that she had been hitherto in the wrong. They thought this attempt would divide us among ourselves, and make our people lose their esteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. They also excepted to the manner of preparing matters by a special commission, as limiting the convocation, and imposing upon it; and to load this with a word of an ill sound, they called this a new ecclesiastical commission: but in answer to all this it was said, that if, by a few corrections or explanations, we offered all just satisfaction to the chief objections of the dissenters, we had reason to hope that this would bring over many of them, at least of the people, if not of the teachers, among them; or, if the prejudices of education wrought too strongly upon the present age, yet, if some more sensible objections were put out of the way, we might well hope that it would have a great effect on the next generation. If these condescensions were made so as to own, in the way of offering them, that the nonconformists had been in the right, that might turn to the reproach of the church; but such offers being made only in regard to their weakness, the reproach fell on them, as the honour accrued to the church, who shewed herself a true mother by her care to preserve her children. It was not offered that the ordinary posture of receiving the sacrament kneeling should be changed; that was still to be the received and favoured posture: only such as declared they could not overcome their scruples in that matter, were to be admitted to it in another posture. Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always de-

clared to be so; all the necessity of them arose only from the authority in church and state that had enacted them: therefore it was an unreasonable stiffness to deny any abatement or yielding in such matters, in order to the healing the wounds of our church. Great alterations had been made in such things in all ages of the church. Even the church of Rome was still making some alterations in her rituals; and changes had been made among ourselves, often since the Reformation, in King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles the Second's reigns. These were always made upon some great turn: critical times being the most proper for designs of that kind. The toleration now granted seemed to render it more necessary than formerly to make the terms of communion with the church as large as might be; that so we might draw over to us the greater number from those who might now leave us more safely; and therefore we were to use the more care in order to gaining of them: and, as for the manner of preparing these overtures, the King's supremacy signified little, if he could not appoint a select number to consider of such matters as he might think fit to lay before the convocation. This did no way break in upon their full freedom of debate; it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept, of the propositions that should be offered to them: but while men were arguing this matter on both sides, the party that was now at work for King James took hold of this occasion to inflame men's minds. It was said, the church was to be pulled down, and presbytery was to be set up; that all this now in debate was only intended to divide and distract the church, and to render it, by that means, both weaker and more ridiculous; while it went off from its former grounds in offering such concessions. The universities took fire upon this, and began to declare against it, and against all that promoted it, as men that intended to undermine the church. Severe reflections were cast on the King, as being in an interest contrary to the church; for the church was as the word given out by the jacobite party, under which they thought they might more safely shelter themselves. Great canvassings were every where in the elections of convocation-men—a thing not known in former times; so that it was soon very visible, that we were not in a temper,

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A convoca-  
tion met, but  
would not  
agree to it.

cool or calm enough, to encourage the further prosecuting such a design.

When the convocation was opened, the King sent them a message by the Earl of Nottingham, assuring them of his constant favour and protection, and desiring them to consider such things as, by his order, should be laid before them, with due care, and an impartial zeal for the peace and good of the church: but the lower house of convocation expressed a resolution not to enter into any debates with relation to alterations; so that they would take no notice of the second part of the King's message; and it was not without difficulty carried, to make a decent address to the King, thanking him for his promise of protection. But because, in the draught which the bishops sent them, they acknowledged the protection that the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular, had received from him, the lower house thought, that this imported their owning some common union with the foreign protestants: so they would not agree to it. There was at this time but a small number of bishops in the upper house of convocation; and they had not their metropolitan with them; so they had not strength nor authority to set things forward: therefore they advised the King to suffer the session to be discontinued. And thus, seeing they were in no disposition to enter upon business, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years. This was in reality a favour to them: for, ever since the year 1662, the convocation had indeed continued to sit, but to do no business; so that they were kept at no small charge in town to do nothing, but only to meet, and read a Latin litany. It was therefore an ease to be freed from such an attendance to no purpose. The ill reception that the clergy gave the King's message, raised a great and just outcry against them; since all the promises made in King James's time were now so entirely forgot.

But there was a very happy direction of the providence of God observed in this matter. The jacobite clergy, who were then under suspension, were designing to make a schism in the church, whensoever they should be turned out, and their places should be filled up by others. They saw it would not be easy to make a separation upon a private and

personal account; they therefore wished to be furnished with more specious pretences: and if we had made alterations in the rubric, and other parts of the Common Prayer, they would have pretended that they still stuck to the ancient church of England, in opposition to those who were altering it and setting up new models: and, as I do firmly believe, that there is a wise Providence that watches upon human affairs and directs them, chiefly those that relate to religion, so I have with great pleasure observed this in many instances relating to the Revolution. And, upon this occasion, I could not but see that the jacobites among us, who wished and hoped that we should have made those alterations, which they reckoned would have been of great advantage for serving their ends, were the instruments of raising such a clamour against them as prevented their being made: for, by all the judgments we could afterwards make, if we had carried a majority in the convocation for alterations, they would have done us more hurt than good.

I now turn to a more important, as well as a more troublesome scene. In winter a session of parliament met full of jealousy and ill humour. The ill conduct of affairs was imputed chiefly to the Lord Halifax; so the first attack was made on him. The Duke of Bolton made a motion in the House of Lords for a committee to examine who had the chief hand in the severities and executions in the end of King Charles's reign, and in the *quo warranto's*, and the delivering up the charters: the inquiry lasted some weeks, and gave occasion to much heat; but nothing appeared that could be proved, upon which votes or addresses could have been grounded; yet the Lord Halifax having, during that time, concurred with the ministry in council, he saw it was necessary for him to withdraw now from the ministers and quit the court: and, soon after, he reconciled himself to the tories, and became wholly theirs: he opposed every thing that looked favourably towards the government, and did upon all occasions serve the jacobites and protect the whole party. But the whigs began to lose much of the King's good opinion, by the heat that they shewed in both houses against their enemies, and by the coldness that appeared in every thing that related to the public, as well as to the King in his own particular. He

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A session of  
parliament.

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The king  
grew jea-  
lous of the  
whigs.

expressed an earnest desire to have the revenue of the crown settled on him for life; he said he was not a King till that was done—without that the title of a King was only a pageant; and he spoke of this with more than ordinary vehemence: so that sometimes he said he would not stay and hold an empty name unless that was done. He said once to myself, he understood the good of a commonwealth as well as of a kingly government, and it was not easy to determine which was best; but he was sure the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure and without power. But a jealousy was now infused into many, that he would grow arbitrary in his government if he once had the revenue, and would strain for a high stretch of prerogative, as soon as he was out of difficulties and necessities. Those of the whigs, who had lived some years at Amsterdam, had got together a great many stories that went about the city, of his sullenness and imperious way of dictating: the Scotch, who were now come up to give an account of the proceedings in parliament, set about many things that heightened their apprehensions. One Simpson, a Scotch presbyterian, was recommended to the Earl of Portland as a man whom he might trust, who would bring him good intelligence; so he was often admitted and was entertained as a good spy: but he was in a secret confidence with one Nevill Payne, the most active and dexterous of all King James's agents, who had indeed lost the reputation of an honest man entirely, and yet had such arts of management, that even those who knew what he was were willing to employ him. Simpson and he were in a close league together; and he discovered so much of their secretest intelligence to Simpson, that he might carry it to the Earl of Portland, as made him pass for the best spy the court had. When he had gained great credit, he made use of it to infuse into the Earl of Portland jealousies of the King's best friends; and, as the Earl of Portland hearkened too attentively to these, so by other hands it was conveyed to some of them, that the court was now become jealous of them, and was seeking evidence against them.

Conspiracy  
against the  
govern-  
ment.

Sir James Montgomery was easily possessed with these reports, and he and some others, by Payne's management, fell a treating with King James's party in England: they demanded an assurance for the settlement of presbytery



in Scotland, and to have the chief posts of the government shared among them: princes in exile are apt to grant every thing that is asked of them; for they know, that if they are restored they will have every thing in their power: upon this they entered into a close treaty for the way of bringing all this about. At first they only asked money for furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition; but afterwards they insisted on demanding 3000 men to be sent over from Dunkirk; because, by Duke Schomberg's being posted in Ulster, their communication with Ireland was cut off. In order to the carrying on this design, they reconciled themselves to the Duke of Queensbury and the other lords of the episcopal party; and, on both sides, it was given out, that this union of those, who were formerly such violent enemies, was only to secure and strengthen their interest in parliament: the episcopal party pretending, that since the King was not able to protect them, they who saw themselves marked out for destruction were to be excused for joining with those who could secure them. Simpson brought an account of all this to the Earl of Portland, and was pressed by him to find out witnesses to prove it against Montgomery. He carried this to them, and told them, that the whole business was discovered, and that great rewards were offered to such as would merit them by swearing against them. With this they alarmed many of their party, who did not know what was at bottom, and thought, that nothing was designed but an opposition to Lord Melville and Lord Stair; and they were possessed with a fear, that a new bloody scene of sham-plots and suborned witnesses was to be opened. And when it began to be whispered about, that they were in treaty with King James, that appeared to be so little credible, that it began to be said by some discontented men, what could be expected from a government that was so soon contriving the ruin of its best friends? Some feared that the King himself might too easily receive such reports; and that the common practice of ministers, who study to make their masters believe, that all their own enemies are likewise his, were like to prevail in this reign as much as they had formerly done. Montgomery came to have great credit with some of the whigs in England, particularly with the Earl of Monmouth and the Duke of Bolton; and he em-

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ployed it all to persuade them not to trust the King, and to animate them against the Earl of Portland: this wrought so much, that many were disposed to think they could have good terms from King James; and that he was now so convinced of former errors, that they might safely trust him. The Earl of Monmouth let this out to myself twice, but in a strain that looked like one who was afraid of it, and who endeavoured to prevent it; but he set forth the reasons for it with great advantage, and those against it very faintly. Matters were trusted to Montgomery and Payne; and Ferguson was taken into it, as a man that naturally loved to embroil things; so a design was managed, first, to alienate the city of London so entirely from the King, that no loans might be advanced on the money bills, which, without credit upon them, could not answer the end for which they were given. It was set about, that King James would give a full indemnity for all that was past; and that, for the future, he would separate himself entirely from the French interest, and be contented with a secret connivance at those of his own religion. It was said, he was weary of the insolence of the French court, and saw his error in trusting to it so much as he had done. This corrupted party had gone so far, that they seemed to fancy, that the restoring him would be not only safe, but happy to the nation. I confess, it was long before I could let myself think, that the matter had gone so far, but I was at last convinced of it.

Discovered  
to the au-  
thor.

I received a letter from an unknown hand, with a direction how to answer it: the substance of it was, that he could discover a plot, deeply laid against the King, if he might be assured not to be made a witness, and to have his friends who were in it pardoned; by the King's order, I promised the first, but an indefinite promise of pardon was too much to ask: he might, as to that, trust to the King's mercy. Upon this he came to me, and I found he was Montgomery's brother: he told me, a treaty was settled with King James, articles were agreed on, and an invitation was subscribed by the whole cabal, to King James to come over, which was to be sent to the court of France; both because the communication was easier and less watched, when it went through Flanders, than with Ireland; and to let the court see, how strong a party he had, and by what means to obtain the supplies and force

that was desired. He said he saw the writing, and some hands to it; but he knew many more were to sign it, and he undertook to put me in a method to seize on the original paper. The King could not easily believe the matter had gone so far; yet he ordered the Earl of Shrewsbury to receive such advices as I should bring him, and immediately to do what was proper: so a few days after this, Montgomery told me one Williamson was that day gone to Dover, with the original invitation: I found the Earl of Shrewsbury inclined enough to suspect Williamson. He had for some days solicited a pass for Flanders, and had got some persons, of whom it was not proper to shew a suspicion of, to answer for him. So one was sent post after him, with orders to seize him in his bed, and to take his clothes and portmanteau from him, which were strictly examined, but nothing was found: yet, upon the news of this, the party was grievously affrighted, but soon recovered themselves; the true secret of which was afterwards discovered. Simpson was, it seems, to go over with Williamson, but first to ride to some houses that were in the way to Dover; whereas the other went directly in the stage coach. It was thought safest for Simpson to carry these papers; for there were many different invitations, as they would not trust their hands to one common paper: Simpson came to the house at Dover, where Williamson was in the messenger's hands; thereupon he went away immediately to Deal, and hired a boat, and got safe to France with his letters. Montgomery, finding that nothing was discovered by the way which he directed me to, upon that fancied he would be despised by us, and perhaps suspected by his own side, and went over soon after, and turned papist; but I know not what became of him afterwards. The fear of this discovery soon went off: Simpson came back with large assurances; and 12,000*l.* were sent to the Scotch, who undertook to do great matters. All pretended discoveries were laughed at, and looked on as the fictions of the court: and, upon this, the city of London were generally possessed with a very ill opinion of the King. The House of Commons granted the supplies that were demanded for the reduction of Ireland, and for the quota to which the King was obliged by his alliances; and they continued the gift of the revenue for another year. But

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one great error was committed by the court, in accepting remote funds; whereby the interest of the money then advanced on a fund, payable at the distance of some years, did not only eat up a great deal of the sum, but seemed so doubtful, that great premiums were to be offered to those who advanced money upon a security which was thought very contingent, since few believed that the government would last so long. So here was a shew of great supplies which yet brought not in the half of what they were estimated at.

A bill concerning corporations.

The tories, seeing the whigs grow sullen, and that they would make no advances of money, began to treat with the court, and promised great advances, if the parliament might be dissolved, and a new one be summoned. Those propositions came to be known; so the House of Commons prepared a bill, by which they hoped to have made sure of all future parliaments; in it they declared, that corporations could not be forfeited, nor their charters surrendered; and they enacted that all mayors and recorders, who had been concerned in the private delivering up of charters, without the consent of the whole body, and who had done that in a clandestine manner, before the judgment that was given against the charter of London, should be turned out of all corporations, and be incapable of bearing office in them for six years. This was opposed in the House of Commons by the whole strength of the tory party; for they saw the carrying it was the total ruin of their interest through the whole kingdom. They said a great deal against the declaratory part: but, whatsoever might be in that, they said since the thing had been so universal, it seemed hard to punish it with such severity: it was said, that by this means, the party for the church would be disgraced, and that the corporations would be cast into the hands of dissenters. And now, both parties made their court to the King: the whigs promised every thing that he desired, if he would help them to get this bill passed; and the tories were not wanting in their promises, if the bill should be stopped, and the parliament dissolved. The bill was carried in the House of Commons by a great majority: when it was brought up to the Lords, the first point in debate was, upon the declaratory part, whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered? Holt, and two other judges, were for the affirmative, but all the rest were for the

negative: no precedents for the affirmative were brought, higher than the reign of King Henry VIII. in which the abbies were surrendered; which was at that time so great a point of state, that the authority of these precedents seemed not clear enough for regular times: the House was so equally divided, that it went for the bill only by one voice; after which, little doubt was made of the passing the act. But now the applications of the tories were much quickened; they made the King all possible promises, and the promoters of the bill saw themselves exposed to the corporations, which were to feel the effects of this bill so sensibly, that they made as great promises on their part: the matter was now at a critical issue; the passing the bill put the King and the nation in the hands of the whigs; as the rejecting it, and dissolving the parliament upon it, was such a trusting to the tories, and such a breaking with the whigs, that the King was long in suspense what to do.

He was once very near a desperate resolution: he thought he could not trust the tories, and he resolved he would not trust the whigs; so he fancied the tories would be true to the Queen, and confide in her, though they would not in him. He therefore resolved to go over to Holland, and leave the government in the Queen's hands; so he called the Marquis of Caermarthen, with the Earl of Shrewsbury, and some few more, and told them, he had a convoy ready, and was resolved to leave all in the Queen's hands; since he did not see how he could extricate himself out of the difficulties into which the animosities of parties had brought him: they pressed him vehemently to lay aside all such desperate resolutions, and to comply with the present necessity. Much passion appeared among them; the debate was so warm, that many tears were shed; in conclusion, the King resolved to change his first design, into another better resolution of going over in person, to put an end to the war in Ireland: this was told me some time after by the Earl of Shrewsbury; but the Queen knew nothing of it till she had it from me, so reserved was the King to her, even in a matter that concerned her so nearly. The King's design of going to Ireland, came to be seen by the preparations that were ordered; but a great party was formed in both houses to oppose it: some did really apprehend the air of Ireland would be fatal to so weak a consti-

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tution; and the jacobites had no mind that King James should be so much pressed as he would probably be if the King went against him in person: it was by concert proposed in both houses, on the same day, to prepare an address to the King against this voyage: so the King, to prevent that, came the next day, and prorogued the parliament; and that was soon after followed by a dissolution.

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A new parliament.

This session had not raised all the money that was demanded for the following campaign; so it was necessary to issue out writs immediately for a new parliament. There was a great struggle all England over in elections; but the corporation bill did so highly provoke all those whom it was to have disgraced, that the tories were by far the greater number in the new parliament. One thing was a part of the bargain that the tories had made, that the lieutenantcy of London should be changed; for, upon the King's coming to the crown, he had given a commission, out of which they were all excluded: which was such a mortification to them, that they said, they could not live in the city with credit, unless some of them were again brought into that commission. The King recommended it to the Bishop of London, to prepare a list of those who were known to be churchmen, but of the more moderate, and of such as were liable to no just exception; that so the two parties in the city might be kept in a balance: the bishop brought a list of the most violent tories in the city, who had been engaged in some of the worst things that passed in the end of King Charles's reign. A committee of council was appointed to examine the list; but it was so named, that they approved of it: this was done to the great grief of the whigs, who said, that the King was now putting himself in his enemies' hands; and that the arms of the city were now put under a set of officers, who, if there was a possibility of doing it without hazard, would certainly use them for King James. This matter was managed by the Marquis of Caermarthen and the Earl of Nottingham; but opposed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was much troubled at the ill conduct of the whigs, but much more at this great change in the King's government. The elections of parliament went generally for men who would probably have declared for King James, if they could have known how to manage

matters for him. The King made a change in the ministry, to give them some satisfaction: the Earls of Monmouth and Warrington were both dismissed; other lesser changes were made in inferior places; so that whig and tory were now pretty equally mixed, and both studied to court the King by making advances upon the money-bills.

The first great debate arose in the House of Lords upon a bill that was brought in, acknowledging the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful sovereigns, and declaring all the acts of the last parliament to be good and valid. The first part passed with little contradiction; though some excepted to the words rightful and lawful, as not at all necessary; but the second article bore a long and warm debate: the tories offered to enact that these should be all good laws for the time to come, but opposed the doing it in the declaratory way. They said, it was one of the fundamentals of our constitution, that no assembly could be called a parliament, unless it was called and chosen upon the King's writ. On the other hand, it was said, that whatsoever tended to the calling the authority of that parliament in question, tended likewise to the weakening of the present government, and brought the King's title into question. A real necessity, upon such extraordinary occasions, must supersede forms of law; otherwise the present government was under the same nullity. Forms were only rules for peaceable times: but, in such a juncture, when all that had a right to come, either in person or by their representatives, were summoned and freely elected, and when, by the King's consent, the convention was turned to a parliament, the essentials, both with relation to King and people, were still maintained in the constitution of that parliament. After a long debate, the act passed in the House of Lords, with this temper, declaring and enacting that the acts of that parliament were and are good and valid; many lords protesting against it, at the head of whom was the Earl of Nottingham, notwithstanding his great office at court. It was expected that great and long debates should have been made in the House of Commons upon this act; but, to the wonder of all people, it passed in two days in that House, without any debate or opposition. The truth was, the tories had resolved to commit the bill; and, in order to that, some trifling exceptions were made

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A bill recognizing the King, Queen, and the acts of the convention.

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to some words that might want correction: for bills are not committed, unless some amendments are offered; and, when it was committed, it was then resolved to oppose it; but one of them discovered this too early, for he questioned the legality of the convention, since it was not summoned by writ: Somers, then solicitor-general, answered this with great spirit: he said, if that was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treason; the laws repealed by it were still in force; so they must presently return to King James; all the money levied, collected, and paid, by virtue of the acts of that parliament, made every one that was concerned in it highly criminal: this he spoke with much zeal, and such an ascendant of authority, that none was prepared to answer it: so the bill passed without any more opposition. This was a great service done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raise Somers's character.

The Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir John Trevor, was a bold and dexterous man, and knew the most effectual ways of recommending himself to every government: he had been in great favour in King James's time, and was made master of the rolls by him; and if Lord Jefferies had stuck at any thing, he was looked on as the man likeliest to have had the great seal: he now got himself to be chosen speaker, and was made first commissioner of the great seal. Being a tory in principle, he undertook to manage that party, provided he was furnished with such sums of money as might purchase some votes; and by him began the practice of buying off men, in which hitherto the King had kept to stricter rules. I took the liberty once to complain to the King of this method: he said, he hated it as much as any man could do; but he saw it was not possible, considering the corruption of the age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole.

The revenue  
given for  
years.

The House of Commons gave the King the customs for five years, which they said made it a surer fund, for borrowing money upon, than if they had given it for life: the one was subject to accidents, but the other was more certain. They also continued the other branches of the revenue for the same number of years. It was much pressed to have it settled for life; but it was taken up as a general



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maxim, that a revenue for a certain and short term, was the best security that the nation could have for frequent parliaments. The King did not like this: he said to myself, why should they entertain a jealousy of him, who came to save their religion and liberties; when they trusted King James so much, who intended to destroy both? I answered, they were not jealous of him, but of those who might succeed him; and if he would accept of the gift for a term of years, and settle the precedent, he would be reckoned the deliverer of succeeding ages, as well as of the present; and it was certain that King James would never have run into those counsels that ruined him, if he had obtained the revenue only for a short term; which probably would have been done, if Argyle's and Monmouth's invasions had not so overawed the house that it would then have looked like being in a conspiracy with them, to have opposed the King's demand: I saw the King was not pleased, though he was persuaded to accept of the grant thus made him. The Commons granted a poll bill, with some other supplies, which they thought would answer all the occasions of that year; but as what they gave did not quite come up to what was demanded, so, when the supply was raised, it came far short of what they estimated it at; so that there were great deficiencies to be taken care of in every session of parliament; which run up every year, and made a great noise, as if the nation was, through mismanagement, running into a great arrear. An act passed this session, putting the administration in the Queen during the King's absence out of the kingdom; but, with this proviso, that the orders which the King sent should always take place. In all this debate the Queen seemed to take no notice of the matter, nor of those who had appeared for or against it. The House of Commons, to the great grief of the whigs, made an address to the King, thanking him for the alterations he had made in the lieutenancy of London.

But the greatest debate in this session was concerning an abjuration of King James: some of the Tories were at first for it, as were all the Whigs; the clergy were excepted out of it, to soften the opposition that might be made; but still the main body of the Tories declared they would never take any such oath: so they opposed every step that was made in it with a great copiousness of long and vehement

Debates for  
and against  
an abjura-  
tion of King  
James.

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arguing: they insisted much on this—that when the government was settled, oaths were made to be the ties of the subject to it, and that all new impositions were a breach made on that which might be called the original contract of the present settlement; things of that kind ought to be fixed and certain, and not mutable and endless. By the same reason that the abjuration was now proposed, another oath might be prepared every year; and every party that prevailed in parliament would bring in some discriminating oath or test, such as could only be taken by those on their own side; and thus the largeness and equality of government would be lost, and contracted into a faction. On the other side it was said, that this was only intended to be a security to the government during the war; for in such a time it seemed necessary, that all who were employed by the government should give it all possible security: it was apparent, that the comprehensive words in the oaths of allegiance had given occasion to much equivocation: many who had taken them having declared, which some had done in print, that they considered themselves as bound by the oaths only while the King continued in peaceable possession; but not to assist or support his title, if it was attacked or shaken: it was therefore necessary that men in public trusts should be brought under stricter ties. The abjuration was debated in both houses at the same time: I concurred with those that were for it. The whigs pressed the King to set it forward: they said, every one who took it would look on himself as unpardonable, and so would serve him with the more zeal and fidelity; whereas those who thought the right to the crown was still in King James, might perhaps serve faithfully as long as the government stood firm; but, as they kept still measures with the other side, to whom they knew they would be always welcome, so they would never act with that life and zeal which the present state of affairs required. At the same time, the tories were as earnest in pressing the King to stop the further progress of those debates: much time was already lost in them; and it was evident that much more must be lost, if it was intended to carry it on, since so many branches of this bill, and incidents that arose upon the subject of it, would give occasion to much heat and wrangling; and it was a doubt whether it would be

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carried, after all the time that must be bestowed on it, or not; those who opposed it would grow sullen, and oppose every thing else that was moved for the King's service; and, if it should be carried, it would put the King again into the hands of the whigs, who would immediately return to their old practices against the prerogative, and it would drive many into King James's party, who might otherwise stick firm to the King, or at least be neutrals. These reasons prevailed with the King, to order an intimation to be given in the House of Commons, that he desired they would let that debate fall, and go to other matters that were more pressing.

This gave a new disgust to the whigs, but was very acceptable to the Tories; and it quickened the advances of money upon the funds that were given. It had indeed a very ill effect abroad: for both friends and enemies looked on it as a sign of a great decline in the King's interest with his people; and the King's interposing to stop further debates in the matter, was represented as an artifice only to save the affront of its being rejected. The Earl of Shrewsbury was at the head of those who pressed the abjuration most; so, upon this change of counsels, he thought he could not serve the King longer with reputation or success. He saw the whigs, by using the King ill, were driving him into the Tories; and he thought these would serve the King with more zeal, if he left his post. The credit that the Marquis of Caermarthen had gained was not easy to him: so he resolved to deliver up the seals. I was the first person to whom he discovered this; and he had them in his hands when he told me of it: yet I prevailed with him not to go that night: he was in some heat. I had no mind that the King should be surprised by a thing of that kind; and I was afraid that the Earl of Shrewsbury might have said such things to him, as should have provoked him too much: so I sent the King word of it. It troubled him more than I thought a thing of that sort could have done: he loved the Earl of Shrewsbury; and apprehended, that his leaving his service at this time might alienate the whigs more entirely from him; for now they, who thought him before of too cold a temper, when they saw how firm he was, came to consider and trust him more than ever. The King sent Tillotson, and all those who had most credit with the Earl,

The Earl of  
Shrewsbury  
left the  
court.

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to divert him from his resolution; but all was to no purpose. The agitation of mind that this gave him, threw him into a fever, which almost cost him his life. The King pressed him to keep the seals till his return from Ireland, though he should not act as secretary; but he could not be prevailed on. The debate for the abjuration lasted longer in the House of Lords: it had some variation from that which was proposed in the House of Commons; and was properly an oath of a special fidelity to the King, in opposition to King James: the tories offered, in bar to this, a negative engagement against assisting King James, or any of his instruments, knowing them to be such, with severe penalties on such as should refuse it. In opposition to this, it was said, this was only an expedient to secure all King James's party, whatever should happen, since it left them the entire merit of being still in his interests, and only restrained them from putting any thing to hazard for him. The House was so near an equality, in every division, that what was gained in one day was lost in the next; and by the heat and length of those debates, the session continued till June. A bill, projected by the tories, passed, relating to the city of London, which was intended to change the hands that then governed it: but, through the haste or weakness of those who drew it, the Court of Aldermen was not comprehended in it: so, by this act, the government of the city was fixed in their hands; and they were generally whigs. Many discoveries were made of the practices from St. Germain's and Ireland; but few were taken up upon them; and those were too inconsiderable, to know more than, that many were provided with arms and ammunition, and that a method was projected for bringing men together upon a call. And indeed things seemed to be in a very ill disposition towards a fatal turn.

The King's  
sense of  
affairs.

The King was making all possible haste to open the campaign, as soon as things could be ready for it, in Ireland. The day before he set out he called me into his closet: he seemed to have a great weight upon his spirits, from the state of his affairs, which was then very cloudy: he said, for his own part, he trusted in God, and would either go through with his business, or perish in it; he only pitied the poor Queen, repeating that twice with great tenderness, and wished that those who loved him, would

wait much on her, and assist her : he lamented much the factions and the heats that were among us, and that the bishops and clergy, instead of allaying them, did rather foment and inflame them ; but he was pleased to make an exception of myself : he said, the going to a campaign was naturally no unpleasant thing to him : he was sure he understood that better than how to govern England : he added, that, though he had no doubt nor mistrust of the cause he went on, yet the going against King James, in person, was hard upon him, since it would be a vast trouble both to himself and to the Queen, if he should be either killed or taken prisoner : he desired my prayers, and dismissed me, very deeply affected with all he had said.

I had a particular occasion to know, how tender he was of King James's person, having learnt an instance of it from the first hand. A proposition was made to the King, that a third-rate ship, well manned by a faithful crew, and commanded by one who had been well with King James, but was such a one as the King might trust, should sail to Dublin, and declare for King James. The person who told me this, offered to be the man that should carry the message to King James (for he was well known to him) to invite him to come on board, which he seemed to be sure he would accept of ; and, when he was aboard, they should sail away with him, and land him either in Spain or Italy, as the King should desire ; and should have 20,000*l.* to give him, when he should be set ashore. The King thought it was a well-formed design, and likely enough to succeed, but would not hearken to it : he said he would have no hand in treachery ; and King James would certainly carry some of his guards and of his court aboard with him, and probably they would make some opposition, and in the struggle some accident might happen to King James's person, in which he would have no hand. I acquainted the Queen with this, and I saw in her a great tenderness for her father's person ; and she was much touched with the answer the King had made.

He had a quick passage to Ireland, where matters had been kept, in the state they were in, all this winter : Charlemont was reduced, which was the only place in Ulster that was then left in King James's hands. The King had a great army ; there were about 36,000 men, all in good

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The King's  
tenderness  
for King  
James's per-  
son.

The King  
sailed to  
Ireland.

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plight, full of heart and zeal : he lost no time, but advanced in six days from Belfast, where he landed, to the river of Boyne, near Drogheda. King James had abandoned the passes between Newry and Dundalk, which are so strait for some miles, that it had been easy to have disputed every inch of ground. King James and his court were so much lifted up with the news of the debates in parliament, and of the distractions of the city of London, that they flattered themselves with false hopes, that the King durst not leave England, nor venture over to Ireland : he had been six days come, before King James knew any thing of it. Upon that, he immediately passed the Boyne, and lay on the south side of it. His army consisted of twenty-six thousand men : his horse were good ; and he had five thousand French foot, for whom he had sent over, in exchange, five thousand Irish foot. He held some councils of war, to consider what was fit to be done ; whether he should make a stand there, and put all to the decision of a battle, or if he should march off, and abandon that river, and by consequence all the country on to Dublin.

Advices  
given to  
King James.

All his officers, both French and Irish, who disagreed almost in all their advices, yet agreed in this, that though they had there a very advantageous post to maintain, yet their army being so much inferior, both in number and in every thing else, they would put too much to hazard, if they should venture on a battle. They therefore proposed the strengthening their garrisons, and marching off to the Shannon with the horse, and a small body of foot, till they should see how matters went at sea ; for the French King had sent them assurances, that he would, not only set out a great fleet, but that, as soon as the squadron that lay in the Irish seas, to guard the transport fleet, and to secure the King's passage over, should sail into the Channel, to join our grand fleet, he would then send into the Irish seas a fleet of small frigates and privateers, to destroy the King's transports. This would have been fatal if it had taken effect ; and the executing of it seemed easy and certain. It would have shut up the King within Ireland, till a new transport fleet could have been brought thither, which would have been the work of some months : so that England might have been lost, before he could have passed the seas with his army : and the destruction of his transports

must have ruined his army; for his stores, both of bread and ammunition, were still on board; and they sailed along the coast, as he advanced on his march: nor was there, in all that coast, a safe port to cover and secure them. The King indeed reckoned, that by the time the squadron which lay in the Irish seas should be able to join the rest of the fleet, they would have advanced as far as the chops of the Channel, where they would guard both England and Ireland: but things went far otherwise.

The Queen was now in the administration; it was a new scene to her: she for above sixteen months made so little figure in business, that those who imagined that every woman of sense loved to be meddling, concluded that she had a small proportion of it, because she lived so abstracted from all affairs: her behaviour was indeed very exemplary; she was exactly regular, both in her private and public devotions; she was much in her closet, and read a great deal; she was often busy at work, and seemed to employ her time and thoughts in any thing rather than matters of state: her conversation was lively and obliging; every thing in her was easy and natural: she was singular in great charities to the poor; of whom, as there are always great numbers about courts, so the crowds of persons of quality, that had fled over from Ireland, drew from her liberal supplies: all this was nothing to the public: if the King talked with her of affairs, it was in so private a way that few seemed to believe it: the Earl of Shrewsbury told me, that the King had upon many occasions said to him, that though he could not hit on the right way of pleasing England, he was confident she would, and that we should all be very happy under her. The King named a cabinet council of eight persons, on whose advice she was chiefly to rely; four of them were tories, and four were whigs; yet the Marquis of Caermarthen, and the Earl of Nottingham, being of the first sort, who took most upon them, and seemed to have the greatest credit, the whigs were not satisfied with the nomination. The Queen balanced all things with an extraordinary temper, and became universally beloved and admired by all about her.

Our concerns at sea were then the chief thing to be looked to; an unhappy compliment of sending a fleet to convey a queen to Spain proved almost fatal to us: they were

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The Queen  
in the admin-  
istration.

Affairs at  
sea.

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so long delayed by contrary winds, that a design of blocking up Toulon was lost by it. The great ships that lay there had got out before our fleet could reach the place: our squadron returned back and went into Plymouth to refit there, and it was joined by that which came from the Irish seas. These two squadrons consisted of above thirty ships of the line: the Earl of Torrington, that had the chief command, was a man of pleasure, and did not make the haste that was necessary to go about and join them, nor did the Dutch fleet come over so soon as was promised; so that our main fleet lay long at Spithead. The French understood that our fleets lay thus divided, and saw the advantage of getting between them; so they came into the Channel with so fair a wind, that they were near the Isle of Wight before our fleet had any advice of their being within the Channel. The Earl of Torrington had no advice boats out to bring him news, and though notice thereof was sent post over land as soon as the French came within the Channel, yet their fleet sailed as fast as the post could ride; but then the wind turned upon them, otherwise they would, in all probability, have surprised us: but after this first advantage, the winds were always contrary to them and favourable to us; so that the French officers in Ireland had reason to look for that fleet of smaller vessels, which was promised to be sent to destroy the King's transport ships; and, for these reasons, all King James's officers were against bringing the war to so speedy a decision.

In opposition to all their opinions, King James himself was positive, that they must stay and defend the Boyne. If they marched off and abandoned Dublin, they would so lose their reputation, that the people would leave them, and capitulate: it would also dispirit all their friends in England; therefore he resolved to maintain the post he was in, and seemed not a little pleased to think, that he should have one fair battle for his crown. He spoke this with so much seeming pleasure, that many about him apprehended, that he was weary of the struggle, and even of life, and longed to see an end of it at any rate: and they were afraid that he would play the hero a little too much. He had all the advantages he could desire; the river was deep, and rose very high with the tide; there was a morass to be passed, after the passing the river, and then a rising ground.



On the last of June, the King came to the banks of the river; and, as he was riding along, and making a long stop in one place, to observe the grounds, the enemy did not lose their opportunity, but brought down two pieces of cannon; and, with the first firing, a ball passed along the King's shoulder, tore off some of his clothes, and about a hand-breadth of the skin, out of which about a spoonful of blood came: and that was all the harm it did him. It cannot be imagined, how much terror this struck into all that were about him; he himself said it was nothing: yet he was prevailed on to alight, till it was washed, and a plaister put upon it; and immediately he mounted his horse again, and rode about all the posts of his army: it was indeed necessary to shew himself every where, to take off the apprehensions, with which such an unusual accident filled his soldiers. He continued that day nineteen hours on horseback; but, upon his first alighting from his horse, a deserter had gone over to the enemy with the news, which was carried quickly into France, where it was taken for granted that he could not outlive such a wound. So it ran over that kingdom that he was dead; and, upon it, there were more public rejoicings than had been usual upon their greatest victories: which gave that court afterwards a vast confusion, when they knew that he was still alive; and saw that they had raised, in their own people, a high opinion of him, by this inhuman joy, when they believed him dead.

But to return to the action of the Boyne: the King sent a great body of cavalry, to pass the river higher, while he resolved to pass it in the face of the enemy; and the Duke of Schomberg was to pass it in a third place, a little below him. I will not enter into the particulars of that day's action, but leave that to military men.

It was a complete victory; and those who were the least disposed to flattery said, it was almost wholly due to the King's courage and conduct. And, though he was a little stiff by reason of his wound, yet he was forced to quit his horse in the morass, and to go through it on foot; but he came up in time to ride almost into every body of his army: he charged in many different places, and nothing stood before him. The Irish horse made some resistance, but the foot threw down their arms, and ran away. The most amazing circumstance was, that King James staid all the

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A cannon-  
ball wound-  
ed the King.

The battle  
of the  
Boyne.

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while with his guards, at a safe distance, and never came into the places of danger or of action: and, when he saw his army was every where giving ground, was the first that ran for it, and reached Dublin before the action was quite over; for it was dark before the King forsook the pursuit of the Irish. His horse and dragoons were so weary with the fatigue of a long action in a hot day, that they could not pursue far; nor was their camp furnished with necessary refreshments till next morning; for the King had marched faster than the waggons could possibly follow. The army of the Irish were so entirely forsaken by their officers, that the King thought they would have dispersed themselves, and submitted; and that the following them would have been a mere butchery, which was a thing he had always abhorred. The only allay to this victory was the loss of the Duke of Schomberg: he passed the river in his station, and was driving the Irish before him, when a party of desperate men set upon him, as he was riding very carelessly, with a small number about him: they charged, and in the disorder of that action he was shot, but it could not be known by whom, for most of all the party was cut off. Thus that great man, like another Epaminondas, fell on the day in which his side triumphed.

King James came to Dublin, under a very indecent consternation: he said, all was lost; he had an army in England that could have fought, but would not: and now he had an army, that would have fought, but could not. This was not very gratefully nor decently spoken by him, who was among the first that fled. Next morning he left Dublin: he said, too much blood had been already shed; it seemed God was with their enemies. The Prince of Orange was a merciful man; so he ordered those he left behind him to set the prisoners at liberty, and to submit to the Prince: he rode that day from Dublin to Duncannon Fort; but though the place was considerably strong, he would not trust to that, but lay aboard a French ship that anchored there, and had been provided by his own special directions to Sir Patrick Trant. His courage sunk with his affairs to a degree that amazed those who had known the former parts of his life. The Irish army was forsaken by their officers for two days: if there had been a hot pursuit, it would have put an end to the war in Ireland; but the King thought his

first care ought to be to secure Dublin: and King James's officers, as they abandoned it, went back to the army, only in hopes of a good capitulation. Dublin was thus forsaken, and no harm done, which was much apprehended: but the fear the Irish were in was such, that they durst not venture on any thing, which must have drawn severe revenges after it: so the protestants there, being now the masters, they declared for the King. Drogheda did also capitulate.

But, to balance this great success, the King had, the very day after the battle at the Boyne, the news of a battle fought in Flanders, between Prince Waldeck and the Marshal Luxembourg, in which the former was defeated. The cavalry did at the first charge run, but the foot made an amazing stand. The French had the honour of a victory, and took many prisoners, with the artillery; yet the stand the infantry made was such, that they lost more than they got by the day; nor were they able to draw any advantage from it. This was the battle of Flerus, that, in the consequence of it, proved the means of preserving England.

On the day before the battle of the Boyne, the two fleets came to a great engagement at sea: the squadron that lay at Plymouth could not come up to join the great fleet, the wind being contrary; so it was under debate, what was fittest to be done. The Earl of Torrington thought he was not strong enough, and advised his coming in, till some more ships, that were fitting out, should be ready. Some began to call his courage in question; and imputed this to fear: they thought this would too much exalt our enemies, and discourage our allies, if we left the French to triumph at sea, and to be the masters of our coast and trade; for our merchants' richest ships were coming home; so that the leaving them in such a superiority, would be both very unbecoming, and very mischievous, to us. The Queen ordered Russel to advise, both with the Navy-Board and with all that understood sea affairs; and, upon a view of the strength of both fleets, they were of opinion, that though the French were superior in number, yet our fleet was so equal in strength to them, that it was reasonable to send orders to our admiral to venture on an engagement: yet the orders were not so positive but that a great deal was left to a council of war. The two fleets engaged near Beachy in Sussex; the Dutch led the van; and, to shew

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The battle of  
of Flerus.An engage-  
ment at sea.

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their courage, they advanced too far out of the line, and fought in the beginning with some advantage, the French flying before them: and our blue squadron engaged bravely: but the Earl of Torrington kept in his line, and continued to fight at a distance. The French, seeing the Dutch came out so far before the line, fell on them furiously both in front and flank, which the Earl of Torrington neglected for some time; and, when he endeavoured to come a little nearer, the calm was such that he could not come up. The Dutch suffered much, and their whole fleet had perished, if their admiral, Calembourg, had not ordered them to drop their anchors while their sails were all up. This was not observed by the French; so they were carried by the tide while the others lay still; and thus, in a few minutes, the Dutch were out of danger. They lost many men, and sunk some of their ships, which had suffered the most, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands. It was now necessary to order the fleet to come in with all possible haste. Both the Dutch and the blue squadron complained much of the Earl of Torrington; and it was a general opinion, that if the whole fleet had come up to a close fight, we must have beat the French; and, considering how far they were from Brest, and that our squadron at Plymouth lay between them and home, a victory might have had great consequences. Our fleet was now in a bad condition, and broken into factions; and if the French had not lost the night's tide, but had followed us close, they might have destroyed many of our ships. Both the admirals were almost equally blamed; ours for not fighting, and the French for not pursuing his victory.

The French  
masters of  
the sea.

Our fleet came in safe, and all possible diligence was used in refitting it. The Earl of Torrington was sent to the Tower, and three of our best sea officers had the joint command of the fleet: but it was a month before they could set out; and, in all that time the French were masters of the sea, and our coasts were open to them. If they had followed the first consternation, and had fallen to the burning our sea towns, they might have done us much mischief, and put our affairs in great disorder; for we had not above seven thousand men then in England. The militia was raised, and suspected persons were put in prison. In this melancholy conjuncture, though the harvest drew on, so

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that it was not convenient for people to be long absent from their labour, yet the nation expressed more zeal and affection to the government than was expected; and the jacobites, all England over, kept out of the way, and were afraid of being fallen upon by the rabble. We had no great losses at sea, for most of our merchantmen came safe into Plymouth: the French stood over, for some time, to their own coast: and we had many false alarms of their shipping troops, in order to a descent. But they had suffered so much in the battle at Flerus; and the Dutch used such diligence in putting their army in a condition to take the field again; and the Elector of Brandenburg, bringing his troops to act in conjunction with theirs, gave the French so much work; that they were forced, for all their victory, to lie upon the defensive, and were not able to spare so many men as were necessary for an invasion. The Dutch did indeed send positive orders to Prince Waldeck, not to hazard another engagement till the fleet should be again at sea: this restrained the Elector, who, in conjunction with the Dutch, was much superior to Luxembourg; and afterwards, when the Dutch superseded those orders, the Elector did not think fit to hazard his army. Such is the fate of confederate armies, when they are under a different direction; that when the one is willing, or at least seems to be so, the other stands off. The French riding so long, so quietly in our seas, was far from what might have been expected, after such an advantage; we understood afterwards, that they were still waiting, when the jacobites should, according to their promises, have begun a rising in England: but they excused their failing in that, because their leaders were generally clapped up.

That party began to boast, all England over, that it was visible that the French meant no harm to the nation, but only to bring back King James; since now, though our coasts lay open to them, they did us no harm. And this might have made some impression, if the French had not effectually refuted it. Their fleet lay for some days in Torbay; their equipages were weakened; and, by a vessel that carried a packet from Tourville to the court of France, which was taken, it appeared that they were then in so bad a condition, that if our fleet (which upon this was hastened out all that was possible) could have overtaken

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them, we should have got a great victory very cheap. But before they sailed, they made a descent on a miserable village, called **Tinmouth**, that happened to belong to a papist; they burnt it, and a few fisher boats that belonged to it; but the inhabitants got away: and as a body of militia was marching thither, the French made great haste back to their ships. The French published this in their gazettes with much pomp, as if it had been a great trading town, that had many ships, with some men of war in the port: this both rendered them ridiculous, and served to raise the hatred of the nation against them, for every town on the coast saw what they must expect if the French should prevail.

The Queen's  
behaviour  
upon this  
occasion.

In all this time of fear and disorder, the Queen shewed an extraordinary firmness; for though she was full of dismal thoughts, yet she put on her ordinary cheerfulness, when she appeared in public, and shewed no indecent concern. I saw her all that while once a week; for I staid that summer at Windsor: her behaviour was, in all respects, heroical. She apprehended the greatness of our danger; but she committed herself to God, and was resolved to expose herself, if occasion should require it; for she told me, she would give me leave to wait on her, if she was forced to make a campaign in England while the King was in Ireland.

The King  
came to  
Dublin.

Whilst the misfortunes in Flanders, and at sea, were putting us in no small agitation, the news, first of the King's preservation from the cannon-ball, and then of the victory gained the day after, put another face on our affairs. The Earl of Nottingham told me, that when he carried the news to the Queen, and acquainted her in a few words that the King was well; that he had gained an entire victory; and that the late King had escaped, he observed her looks, and found that the last article made her joy complete, which seemed in some suspense, till she understood that. The Queen and council, upon this, sent to the King, pressing him to come over with all possible haste; since, as England was of more importance, so the state of affairs required his presence here; for it was hoped, the reduction of Ireland would be now easily brought about. The King, as he received the news of the battle of Flerus, the day after the victory at the Boyne, so, on the day in which he entered Dublin, he had the news of the misfortune at sea, to temper the joy that his own successes might give him. He had taken all the

Earl of Tyrconnel's papers in the camp ; and he found all King James's papers left behind him in Dublin : by these he understood the design the French had of burning his transport fleet, which was therefore first to be taken care of : and, since the French were now masters at sea, he saw nothing that could hinder the execution of that design.

Among the Earl of Tyrconnel's papers, there was one letter writ to Queen Mary, at St. Germain's, the night before the battle ; but it was not sent. In it, he said, he looked on all as lost ; and ended it thus : " I have now no hope in any thing but in Jones's business." The Marquis of Caermarthen told me, that some weeks before the King went to Ireland, he had received an advertisement, that one named Jones, an Irishman, who had served so long in France and Holland, that he spoke both languages well, was to be sent over to murder the King : and Sir Robert Southwell told me, that he, as secretary of state for Ireland, had looked into all Tyrconnel's papers, and the copies of the letters he wrote to Queen Mary, which he had still in his possession ; and he gave me the copies of two of them. In one of these he writes, that Jones was come ; that his proposition was more probable, and liker to succeed, than any yet made : his demands were high ; but he added—" if any thing can be high for such a service." In another he writes, that Jones had been with the King, who did not like the thing at first ; but he added, we have now so satisfied him, both in conscience and honour, that every thing is done that Jones desires. Southwell further told me, that Deagle, the attorney-general, had furnished him with money and a poniard of a particular composition ; and that they sought long for a Bible, bound without a Common Prayer-Book, which he was to carry in his pocket, that so he might pass, if seized on, for a dissenter. Some persons of great quality waited on him to the boat that was to carry him over. He was for some time delayed in Dublin ; and the King had passed over to Ireland before he could reach him. We could never hear of him more ; so it is likely he went away with his money. A paper was drawn of all this matter, and designed to be published ; but, upon second thoughts, the King and Queen had that tenderness for King James, that they stopped the publishing to the world so shameful a practice. The King said, upon this, to myself,

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A design to  
assassinate  
the King.

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that God had preserved him out of many dangers, and he trusted he would still preserve him: he was sure he was not capable of retaliating in that way. The escape of a cannon-ball, that touched him, was so signal, that it swallowed up lesser ones; yet, in the battle at the Boyne, a musket ball struck the heel of his boot, and recoiling, killed a horse near him; and one of his own men, mistaking him for an enemy, came up to shoot him: but he gently put by his pistol, and only said, "do not you know your friends?"

At Dublin he published a proclamation of grace, offering to all the inferior sort of the Irish their lives and personal estates, reserving the consideration of the real estates of the better sort to a parliament, and indemnifying them only for their lives: it was hoped, that the fulness of the pardon of the commons might have separated them from the gentry; and that, by this means, they would be so forsaken, that they would accept of such terms as should be offered them. The King had intended to have made the pardon more comprehensive, hoping by that to bring the war soon to an end; but the English in Ireland opposed this. They thought the present opportunity was not to be let go, of breaking the great Irish families, upon whom the inferior sort would always depend. And, in compliance with them, the indemnity now offered was so limited that it had no effect; for the priests, who governed the Irish with a very blind and absolute authority, prevailed with them to try their fortunes still. The news of the victory the French had at sea, was so magnified among them, that they made the people believe, that they would make such a descent upon England as must oblige the King to abandon Ireland. The King was pressed to pursue the Irish, who had retired to Athlone and Limerick, and were now joined by their officers, and so brought again into some order; but the main concern was, to put the transport fleet in a safe station. And that could not be had till the King was master of Waterford and Duncannon fort, which commanded the entrance into the river; both these places capitulated, and the transports were brought thither. But they were not now so much in danger as the King had reason to apprehend, for King James, when he sailed away from Duncannon, was forced by contrary winds to go into the road of Kinsale, where he found some French frigates that were



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already come to burn our fleet: he told them, it was now too late, all was lost in Ireland: so he carried them back to convoy him over to France, where he had but a cold reception; for the miscarriage of affairs in Ireland, was imputed both to his ill conduct and his want of courage. He fell under much contempt of the people of France; only that King continued still to behave himself decently towards him.

The King sent his army towards the Shannon, and he himself came to Dublin, intending, as he was advised, to go over to England; but he found there letters of another strain: things were in so good a posture and so quiet in England, that they were no more in any apprehension of a descent: so the King went back to his army, and marched towards Limerick. Upon this Lausun, who commanded the French, left the town; and sent his equipage to France, which perished in the Shannon. It was hoped that Limerick, seeing itself thus abandoned, would have followed the example of other towns, and have capitulated. Upon that confidence the King marched towards it, though his army was now much diminished: he had left many garrisons in several places, and had sent some of his best bodies over to England; so that he had not now above 20,000 men together. Limerick lies on both sides of the Shannon, and on an island that the river makes there: the Irish were yet in great numbers in Connaught; so that unless they had been shut up on that side, it was easy to send in a constant supply both of men and provisions: nor did it seem adviseable to undertake the siege of a place so situated with so small an army, especially in that season, in which it used to rain long, and by that means both the Shannon would swell, and the ground, which was the best soil of Ireland, would be apt to become deep, and scarce practicable for carriages. Yet the cowardice of the Irish, the consternation they were in, and their being abandoned by the French, made the King resolve to sit down before it. Their out-works might have been defended for some time; but they abandoned these in so much disorder, that it was from hence believed they would not hold out long. They also abandoned the posts which they had on the other side of the Shannon: upon which the King passed the river, which was then very low, and viewed those posts;

Siege of Limerick.

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but he had not men to maintain them; so he continued to press the town on the Munster side.

He sent for some more ammunition and some great guns; they had only a guard of two troops of horse to convoy them, who despised the Irish so much, and thought they were at such distance, that they set their horses to grass and went to bed. Sarsfield, one of the best officers of the Irish, heard that the King rode about very carelessly, and upon that had got a small body of resolute men together, on design to seize his person; but now, hearing of this convoy, he resolved to cut it off: the King had advertisement of this brought him in time, and ordered some more troops to be sent to secure the convoy: they, either through treachery or carelessness, did not march till it was night, though their orders were for the morning, but they came a few hours too late. Sarsfield surprized the party, destroyed the ammunition, broke the carriages, and burst one of the guns, and so marched off. Lanier, whom the King had sent with the party, might have overtaken him, but the general observation made of him (and of most of those officers who had served King James, and were now on the King's side) was, that they had a greater mind to make themselves rich by the continuance of the war of Ireland, than their master great and safe by the speedy conclusion of it.

By this the King lost a week, and his ammunition was low, for a great supply that was put on ship board in the river of Thames before the King left London still remained there, the French being masters of the Channel. Yet the King pressed the town so hard that the trenches were run up to the counterscarp, and when they came to lodge there, the Irish ran back so fast at a breach that the cannon had made, that a body of the King's men run in after them, and if they had been seconded, the town had been immediately taken; but none came in time, so they retired; and though the King sent another body, yet they were beaten back with loss. As it now began to rain, the King saw that if he staid longer there, he must leave his great artillery behind him; he went into the trenches every day, and it was thought he exposed himself too much. His tent was pitched within the reach of their cannon; they shot often over it, and beat down a tent very near it; so he was prevailed on

to let it be removed to a greater distance. Once, upon receiving a packet from England, he sat down in the open field for some hours reading his letters while the cannon-balls were flying round about him. The Irish fired well, and shewed they had some courage when they were behind walls, how little soever they had shewn in the field.

The King lay three weeks before Limerick, but at last the rains forced him to raise the siege; they within did not offer to sally out and disorder the retreat: this last action, proving unlucky, had much damped the joy that was raised by the first success of this campaign. The King expressed a great equality of temper upon the various accidents that happened at this time. Dr. Hutton, his first physician, who took care to be always near him, told me he had observed his behaviour very narrowly upon two very different occasions.

The one was, after the return from the victory at the Boyne, when it was almost midnight, after he had been seventeen hours in constant fatigue with all the stiffness that his wound gave him, he expressed neither joy nor any sort of vanity, only he looked chearful; and, when those about him made such compliments, as will be always made to princes, even though they do not deserve them, he put all that by with such an unaffected neglect, that it appeared, how much soever he might deserve the acknowledgments that were made him, yet he did not like them; and this was so visible to all about him, that they soon saw that the way to make their court was, neither to talk of his wound nor of his behaviour on that day. As soon as he saw his physician, he ordered him to see that care should be taken of the wounded men, and he named the prisoners as well as his own soldiers; and, though he had great reason to be offended with Hamilton, who had been employed to treat with the Earl of Tyrconnel, and was taken prisoner in his sight, and was preserved by his order; yet since he saw he was wounded, he gave particular directions to look after him. Upon the whole matter the King was as grave and silent as he used to be, and the joy of a day that had been both so happy and so glorious to him, did not seem to alter his temper or deportment in any way.

He told me he was also near him when it was resolved to raise the siege of Limerick, and saw the same calm with-

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The siege raised.

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 The equality  
 of the King's  
 temper.

out the least depression, disorder, or peevishness: from this he concluded, that either his mind was so happily balanced, that no accident could put it out of that situation, or that if he had commotions within, he had a very extraordinary command over his temper in restraining or concealing them.

The Earl of  
 Marlbo-  
 rough pro-  
 poses the  
 taking Cork  
 and Kinsale  
 in winter,  
 and effects  
 it.

While he lay before Limerick, he had news from England that our fleet was now out, and that the French were gone to Brest; so, since we were masters of the sea, the Earl of Marlborough proposed, that five thousand men who had lain idle all this summer in England should be sent to Ireland, and, with the assistance of such men as the King should order to join them, they should try to take Cork and Kinsale. The King approved of this, and ordered the Earl to come over with them, and he left orders for about five thousand more who were to join him; and so he broke up this campaign, and came over to Bristol, and from thence to London. The contrary winds stopped the Earl of Marlborough so, that it was October before he got to Ireland: he soon took Cork by storm, and four thousand men that lay there in garrison were made prisoners of war. In this action the Duke of Grafton received a shot, of which he died in a few days: he was the more lamented, as being the person, of all King Charles's children, of whom there was the greatest hope: he was brave, and probably would have become a great man at sea. From Cork, the Earl of Marlborough marched to Kinsale, where he found the two forts, that commanded the port, to be so much stronger than the plans had represented them to be, that he told me, if he had known their true strength, he had never undertaken the expedition in a season so far advanced; yet in a few days the place capitulated. The Irish drew their forces together, but durst not venture on raising the siege; but, to divert it, they set the country about, which was the best built of any in Ireland, all in a flame.

The French  
 left Ireland.

Thus those two important places were reduced in a very bad season, and with very little loss; which cut off the quick communication between France and Ireland. Count Lausun, with the French troops, lay all this while about Gallway, without attempting any thing: he sent over to France an account of the desperate state of their affairs, and desired ships might be sent for the transport of their

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forces: that was done; yet the ships came not till the siege of Limerick was raised. Probably, if the court of France had known how much the state of affairs was altered, they would have sent contrary orders: but Lausun was weary of the service, and was glad to get out of it; so he sailed away without staying for new orders, by which he lost the little reputation that he was beginning to recover at the court of France. The Earl of Tyrconnel went over with him, and gave full assurances, that though the Irish were like to suffer great hardships next winter, yet they would stand it out, if they were still supported from France. It had appeared, upon many occasions, that the French and the Irish soldiers did not agree well together; therefore he proposed that no more soldiers, but only a number of good officers, together with arms, ammunition, and clothes, might be sent over to them. In the mean while, the Irish formed themselves into many bodies, which, by a new name, were called rapparees: these, knowing all the ways, and the bogs, and other places of retreat in Ireland, and being favoured by the Irish that had submitted to the King, robbed and burnt houses in many places of the country, while the King's army studied their own ease in their quarters more than the protection of the inhabitants. Many of them were suspected of robbing in their turn, though the rapparees carried the blame of all. Between them the poor inhabitants had a sad time, and their stock of cattle and corn was almost quite destroyed in many places.

From the affairs of Ireland I turn next to give an account of what passed in Scotland: matters went very happily as to the military part: when the remnants of the Earl of Dundee's army (to whom many officers, together with ammunition and money, had been sent from Ireland) began to move towards the low country, to receive those who were resolved to join with them, and were between two and three thousand strong, they were fallen upon and entirely defeated by a Dutch officer, Levingston, that commanded the forces in Scotland. About an hundred officers were taken prisoners. This broke all the measures that had been taken for King James's interests in Scotland. Upon this, those who had engaged in Montgomery's plot, looked upon that design as desperate; yet

Affairs in  
Scotland.

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they resolved to try what strength they could make in parliament.

Lord Melville carried down powers first to offer to Duke Hamilton, if he would join in common measures heartily with him, to be commissioner in parliament; or if he proved intractable, as indeed he did, to serve in that post himself. He had full instructions for the settlement of presbytery; for he assured the King, that without that, it would be impossible to carry any thing; only the King would not consent to the taking away the rights of patronage, and the supremacy of the crown: yet he found these so much insisted on, that he sent one to the King to Ireland for fuller instructions in those points: they were enlarged, but in such general words, that the King did not understand that his instructions could warrant what Lord Melville did: for he gave them both up; and the King was so offended with him for it, that he lost all the credit he had with him, though the King did not think fit to disown him, or to call him to an account for going beyond his instructions.

A parliament there.

The jacobites persuaded all their party to go to the parliament and to take the oaths; for many of the nobility stood off, and would not own the King, nor swear to him. Great pains were taken by Paterson, one of their archbishops, to persuade them to take the oaths, but on design to break them: for he thought by that means they could have a majority in parliament; though some of the laity were too honest to agree to such advices: but with all these wicked arts they were not able to carry a majority. So other things failing, they saw a necessity of desiring a force to be sent over from France: this appeared so odious, and so destructive to their country, that some of them refused to concur in it: others were not pleased with the answers King James had sent to the propositions they had made him. He had indeed granted all that they had asked upon their own particular interests, and had promised to settle presbytery; but he rejected all those demands that imported a diminution of his prerogative, in as firm a manner, as if he had been already set on the throne again. They proposed, finding his answer so little to their satisfaction, to send him a second message.

Upon this the Earls of Argyle, Annandale, and Breadal-

bane, withdrew from them: Annandale came up to the Bath, pretending his ill health: both Lord Argyle and Breadalbane went to Chester, pretending, as they said afterwards, that they intended to discover the whole matter to the King; but he had passed over to Ireland before they got to Chester. Montgomery upon this looked on the design as broken; and so he went and reconciled himself to Melville, and discovered the whole negotiation to him. Upon which the Earl of Melville pressed the King to grant a general indemnity, and gave Montgomery a pass to go to London: and he wrote to the Queen in his favour. But the King was resolved to know the bottom of the plot, and particularly how far any of the English were engaged in it: so Montgomery absconded for some time in London, since he saw no hopes of pardon but upon a full discovery. A warrant was sent to the Bath for the Earl of Annandale, of which he had notice given him, and went up privately to London. Montgomery sent Ferguson to him, assuring him that he had discovered nothing, and desiring him to continue firm and secret: but when he had certain notice that Montgomery had discovered all the negotiation among the Scotch, he cast himself on the Queen's mercy, asking no other conditions but that he might not be made an evidence against others. He himself had not treated with any in England; so, as to them, he was only a second-hand witness; only he informed against Neville Payne, who had been sent down to Scotland, to manage matters among them: he was taken there, but would confess nothing: upon the Earl of Annandale's information, which he gave upon oath, the Earl of Nottingham wrote to the council of Scotland, that he had in his hands a deposition upon oath, containing matter of high treason against Payne; upon which it was pretended that, according to the law of Scotland, he might be put to the torture; and that was executed with rigour: he resisted a double question, yet was still kept a prisoner; and this was much cried out on, as barbarous and illegal. Montgomery lay hid for some months at London; but when he saw he could not have his pardon but by making a full discovery, he chose rather to go beyond sea; so fatally did ambition and discontent hurry a man to ruin, who seemed capable of greater things. His art in managing such a design, and his firmness in not

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A plot discovered.

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discovering his accomplices, raised his character as much as it ruined his fortune. He continued in perpetual plots after this to no purpose: he was once taken, but made his escape; and, at last, spleen and vexation put an end to a turbulent life.

The Lord Melville had now a clear majority in parliament, by the discovery of the plot: some absented themselves; and others, to redeem themselves, were compliant in all things. The main point, by which Melville designed to fix himself, and his party, was, the abolishing of episcopacy, and the setting up of presbytery. The one was soon done, by repealing all the laws in favour of episcopacy, and declaring it contrary to the genius and constitution of that church and nation; for the King would not consent to a plain and simple condemnation of it: but it was not so easy to settle presbytery. If they had followed the pattern set them in the year 1638, all the clergy, in a parity, were to assume the government of the church; but both those being episcopal, they did not think it safe to put the power of the church in such hands; therefore it was pretended, that such of the presbyterian ministers as had been turned out in the year 1662, ought to be considered as the only sound part of the church; and of these there happened to be then threescore alive: so the government of the church was lodged with them; and they were empowered to take to their assistance, and to a share in the church government, such as they should think fit: some furious men, who had gone into very frantic principles, and all those who had been secretly ordained in the presbyterian way, were presently taken in; this was like to prove a fatal error at their first setting out: the old men among them, what by reason of their age, or their experience of former mistakes, were disposed to more moderate counsels; but the taking in such a number of violent men, put it out of their power to pursue them: so these broke out into a most extravagant way of proceeding against such of the episcopal party, as had escaped the rage of the former year. Accusations were raised against them: some were charged for their doctrine, as guilty of Arminianism; others were loaded with more scandalous imputations: but these were only thrown out to defame them; and, where they looked for proof, it was in a way more becoming inquisitors than judges: so apt



are all parties, in their turns of power, to fall into those very excesses, of which they did formerly make such tragical complaints. All other matters were carried in the parliament of Scotland, as the Lord Melville and the presbyterians desired. In lieu of the King's supremacy, he had chimney-money given him; and a test was imposed on all in office, or capable of electing, or being elected to serve in parliament, declaring the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful sovereigns, and renouncing any manner of title pretended to be in King James.

As for affairs abroad, the Duke of Savoy came into the alliance: the French suspected he was in a secret treaty with the Emperor, and so they forced him to declare it, before matters were ripe for it. They demanded that he would put Turin and Montmelian in their hands: this was upon the matter to ask all, and to make him a vassal prince. Upon his refusal, a French army took possession of Savoy, and marched into Piedmont, before he was ready to receive them: for though the imperialists and the Spaniards had made him great promises, in which they are never wanting when their affairs require it; yet they failed so totally in the performance, that if the King and the Dutch, who had promised him nothing, had not performed every thing effectually, he must have become at once a prey to the French. The Emperor was this year unhappy in Hungary, both by losing Belgrade, and by some other advantages which the Turks gained: yet he was as little inclined to peace, as he was capable of carrying on the war.

The King, at his first coming over from Ireland, was so little wearied with that campaign, that he intended to have gone over to his army in Flanders; but it was too late: for they were going into winter quarters; so he held the session of parliament early, about the beginning of October, that so, the funds being settled for the next year, he might have an interview with many of the German princes, who intended to meet him at the Hague, that they might concert measures for the next campaign.

Both houses began with addresses of thanks and congratulation to the King and Queen, in which they set forth the sense they had of their pious care of their people, of their courage and good government, in the highest expressions that could be conceived; with promises of standing

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Affairs  
abroad.A session  
of parliament  
in England.

1690.



by them, and assisting them, with every thing that should be found necessary for the public service; and they were as good as their word: for the King, having laid before them the charge of the next year's war, the estimate rising to above four millions, the vastest sum that ever a King of England had asked of his people, they agreed to it; the opposition that was made being very inconsiderable: and they consented to the funds proposed, which were thought equal to that which was demanded, though these proved afterwards to be defective. The administration was so just and gentle, that there was no grievances to inflame the House; by which the most promising beginnings of some sessions, in former reigns, had often miscarried.

Some indeed began to complain of a mismanagement of the public money; but the ministry put a stop to that, by moving for a bill, empowering such as the parliament should name, to examine into all accounts, with all particulars relating to them; giving them authority to bring all persons, that they should have occasion for, before them, and to tender them an oath to discover their knowledge of such things as they should ask of them. This was like the power of a court of inquisition; and how unusual soever such a commission was, yet it seemed necessary to grant it, for the bearing down, and silencing, all scandalous reports. When this bill was brought to the Lords, it was moved, that since the Commons had named none but members of their own House, that the Lords should add some of their number: this was done by ballot; and the Earl of Rochester having made the motion, the greatest number of ballots were for him: but he refused to submit to this with so much firmness, that the other lords, who were named with him, seemed to think they were in honour bound to do the same; so, since no peer would suffer himself to be named, the bill passed as it was sent up. Many complaints were made of the illegal commitments of suspected persons for high treason, though there was nothing sworn against them; but the danger was so apparent, that the public safety was so much concerned in those imprisonments, that the House of Commons made a precedent for securing a ministry that should do the like, upon the like necessity, and yet maintain the habeas corpus act. They indemnified the ministry for all that had been done contrary to that act.

Great complaints were brought over from Ireland, where the King's army was almost as heavy on the country as the rapparees were. There was a great arrear due to them; for which reason, when the King settled a government in Ireland, of three lords justices, he did not put the army under their civil authority, but kept them in a military subjection to their officers: for he said, since the army was not regularly paid, it would be impossible to keep them from mutiny, if they were put under strict discipline, and punished accordingly. The under officers, finding that they were only answerable to their superior officers, took great liberties in their quarters; and, instead of protecting the country, they oppressed it. The King had brought over an army of seven thousand Danes, under the command of a very gallant Prince, one of the Dukes of Wirtemberg: but they were cruel friends, and thought they were masters. Nor were the English troops much better. The Dutch were the least complained of: Ginkle, who had the chief command, looked strictly to them: but he did not think it convenient to put those of other nations under the same severe measures; but the pay, due for some months, being now sent over, the orders were changed; and the army was made subject to the civil government: yet it was understood that instructions were sent to the lords justices, to be cautious in the exercise of their authority over them; so the country still suffered much by these forces.

1690.  
Ireland  
much  
wasted by  
the rapparees and  
the army  
there.

The House of Commons passed a vote, to raise a million of money, out of the forfeitures and confiscations in Ireland; and in order to that, they passed a bill of attainder of all those who had been engaged in the rebellion of Ireland, and appropriated the confiscations to the raising a fund for defraying the expense of the present war: only they left a power to the King, to grant away a third part of those confiscated estates, to such as had served in the war; and to give such articles and capitulations to those who were in arms, as he should think fit. Upon this bill many petitions were offered; the creditors of some, and the heirs of others, who had continued faithful to the government, desired provisos for their security. The Commons, seeing that there was no end of petitions for such provisos, rejected them all; imitating in this too much the mock parliament, that King James held in Dublin; in which about three thou-

A bill concerning the Irish forfeitures.

1690.



sand persons were attainted, without proof or process, only because some of them were gone over to England, and others were absconding, or informed against in Ireland. But when this bill was brought up to the Lords, they thought they were in justice bound to hear all petitions: upon this, the bill was like to be clogged with many provisos, and the matter must have held long: so the King, to stop this, sent a message to the Commons; and he spoke to the same purpose afterwards, from the throne, to both houses. He promised, he would give no grants of any confiscated estates; but would keep that matter entire, to the consideration of another session of parliament; by which the King intended only to assure them, that he would give none of those estates to his courtiers or officers: but he thought, he was still at liberty to pass such acts of grace, or grant such articles to the Irish, as the state of his affairs should require.

The Earl of  
Torrington  
tried and  
justified.

There were no important debates in the House of Lords. The Earl of Torrington's business held them long: the form of his commitment was judged to be illegal; and the martial law, to which, by the statute, all who served in the fleet were subject, being lodged in the lord high admiral, it was doubted, whether, the admiralty being now in commission, that power was lodged with the commissioners. The judges were of opinion that it was: yet, since the power of life and death was too sacred a thing to pass only by a construction of law, it was thought the safest course to pass an act, declaring, that the powers of a lord high admiral did vest in the commissioners. The secret enemies of the government, who intended to embroil matters, moved that the Earl of Torrington should be impeached in parliament; proceedings in that way being always slow, incidents were also apt to fall in, that might create disputes between the two houses, which did sometimes end in a rupture. But the King was apprehensive of that; and, though he was much incensed against that lord, and had reason to believe, that a council of war would treat him very favourably, yet he chose rather to let it go so, than to disorder his affairs. The commissioners of the admiralty named a court to try him, who did it with so gross a partiality, that it reflected much on the justice of the nation; so that, if it had not been for the great interest the King had in the states, it might have occasioned a breach of the alliance between them and

us. He came off safe as to his person and estate, but much loaded in his reputation; some charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty sullenness of temper, that made him, since orders were sent him contrary to the advices he had given, to resolve indeed to obey them, and fight; but in such a manner, as should cast the blame on those who had sent him the orders, and give them cause to repent of it.

1690.



Another debate was moved in the House of Lords (by those who intended to revive the old impeachment of the Marquis of Caermarthen) whether impeachments continued from parliament to parliament, or whether they were not extinguished by an act of grace. Some ancient precedents were brought to favour this, by those who intended to keep them up; but in all these, there had been an order of one parliament to continue them on to the next: so they did not come home to the present case; and how doubtful soever it was, whether the King's pardon could be pleaded in bar to an impeachment; yet, since the King had sent an of grace, which had passed in the first session of this parliament, it seemed very unreasonable to offer an impeachment against an act of parliament. All this discovered a design against that Lord, who was believed to have the greatest credit, both with the King and Queen, and was again falling under an universal hatred. In a House of Commons, every motion against a minister is apt to be well entertained: some envy him, others are angry at him; many hope to share in the spoils of him, or of his friends, that fall with him; and a love of change, and a wantonness of mind, makes the attacking a minister a diversion to the rest. The thing was well laid, and fourteen leading men had undertaken to manage the matter against him, in which the Earl of Shrewsbury had the chief hand, as he himself told me; for he had a very bad opinion of the man, and thought his advices would, in conclusion, ruin the King and his affairs. But a discovery was at this time made, that was of great consequence; and it was managed chiefly by his means: so that put an end to the designs against him for the present.

Designs  
against the  
Marquis of  
Caermar-  
then.

The session of parliament was drawing to a conclusion, and the King was making haste over to a great congress of many princes, who were coming to meet him at the Hague. Lord Preston sent over to France.

1690.



The jacobites thought this opportunity was not to be lost; they fancied it would be easy, in the King's absence, to bring a revolution about; so they got the Lord Preston to come up to London, and to undertake the journey to France, and to manage this negotiation. They thought no time was to be lost, and that no great force was to be brought over with King James; but that a few resolute men, as a guard to his person, would serve the turn, now that there was so small a force left within the kingdom, and the nation was so incensed at a burthen of four millions in taxes. By this means, if he surprised us, and managed his coming over with such secrecy that he should bring over with himself the first news of it, they believed this revolution would be more easy and more sudden than the last. The men that laid this design were, the Earl of Clarendon, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Preston, and his brother Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous quaker. Lord Preston resolved to go over, and to carry letters from those who had joined with him in the design, to King James and his Queen. The Bishop of Ely's letters were writ in a very particular style; he undertook both for his elder brother, and the rest of the family; which was plainly meant of Sancroft and the other deprived bishops. In his letter to King James's Queen, he assured her of his, and all their zeal for the Prince of Wales; and that they would no more part with that, than with their hopes of heaven. Ashton, a servant of that Queen's, hired a vessel to carry them over; but the owner of the vessel, being a man zealous for the government, discovered all he knew; which was only that he was to carry some persons over to France. The notice of this was carried to the Marquis of Caermarthen, and the matter was so ordered, that Lord Preston, Ashton, and a young man (Elliot) were got aboard, and falling down the river, when the officer sent to take them came, on pretence to search and press for seamen, and drew the three passengers out of the hold in which they were hid. Lord Preston left his letters behind him in the hold, together with King James's signet: Ashton took them up, on design to have thrown them into the sea, but they were taken from him.

Both they and their letters were brought to Whitehall. Lord Preston's mind sunk so visibly, that it was concluded he would not die, if confessing all he knew could save him.

Ashton was more firm and sullen; Elliot knew nothing. There was among their papers one that contained the heads of a declaration, with assurances of pardon, and promises to preserve the protestant religion and the laws: another paper contained short memorials, taken by Lord Preston, in which many of the nobility were named. The most important of all was, a relation of a conference between some noblemen and gentlemen, whigs and tories; by which it appeared, that, upon a conversation on this subject, they all seemed convinced, that upon this occasion France would not study to conquer but to oblige England; and that King James would be wholly governed by protestants, and follow the protestant and English interest. The prisoners were quickly brought to their trial; their design of going to France, and the treasonable papers found about them, were fully proved: some of them were writ in Lord Preston's and some in Ashton's hand. They made but a poor defence: they said, a similitude of hands was not thought a good proof in Sidney's case: but this was now only a circumstance: in what hand soever the papers were writ, the crime was always the same, since they were open, not sealed: so they knew the contents of them, and thus were carrying on a negotiation of high treason with the King's enemies: upon full evidence they were condemned.

1690.

Taken,  
tried, and  
condemned.

Ashton would enter into no treaty with the court, but prepared himself to die; and he suffered with great decency and seriousness. He left a paper behind him, in which he owned his dependance on King James, and his fidelity to him: he also affirmed, that he was sure the Prince of Wales was born of the Queen: he denied that he knew the contents of the papers that were taken with him. This made some conclude, that his paper was penned by some other person, and too hastily copied over by himself, without making due reflections on this part of it; for I compared this paper, which he gave the sheriff, and which was written in his own hand, with those found about him; and it was visible both were writ in the same hand.

Lord Preston went backward and forward: he had no mind to die, and yet was not willing to tell all he knew: he acted a weak part in all respects: when he was heated by the importunities of his friends, who were violently engaged

1690.  
 Lord Pres-  
 ton was par-  
 doned.

against the government, and after he had dined well, he resolved he would die heroically; but by next morning that heat went off, and when he saw death in full view, his heart failed him. The scheme he carried over was so foolish, so ill concerted, and so few engaged in it, that those who knew the whole secret concluded, that if he had got safe to the court of France, the project would have been so despised, that he must have been suspected as sent over to draw King James into a snare, and bring him into the King's hands. The Earl of Clarendon was seized, and put in the Tower; but the Bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn absconded. After some months, the King, in regard to the Earl of Clarendon's relation to the Queen, would proceed to no extremities against him, but gave him leave to live, confined to his house in the country.

The beha-  
 viour of the  
 deprived  
 bishops.

The King had suffered the deprived bishops to continue now above a year at their sees; they all the while neglected the concerns of the church, doing nothing but living privately in their palaces. I had, by the Queen's order, moved both the Earl of Rochester and Sir John Trevor, who had great credit with them, to try whether, in case an act could be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, they would go on, and do their functions in ordinations, institutions, and confirmations, and assist at the public worship as formerly: but they would give no answer: only they said, they would live quietly, that is, keep themselves close, till a proper time should encourage them to act more openly. So all the thoughts of this kind were upon that laid aside. One of the considerablest men of the party, Dr. Sherlock, upon King James's going out of Ireland, thought that this gave the present government a thorough settlement: and in that case, he thought it lawful to take oaths; and upon that, not only took them himself, but publicly justified what he had done: upon which he was most severely libelled by those from whom he withdrew. The discovery of the Bishop of Ely's correspondence, and engagement in the name of the rest, gave the King a great advantage in filling those vacant sees, which he resolved to do, upon his return from the congress, to which he went over in January.

A congress  
 of princes

In his way he ran a very great hazard: when he got within the Maese, so that it was thought two hours rowing



would bring him to land, being weary of the sea, he went into an open boat with some of his lords ; but, by mists and storms, he was tossed up and down above sixteen hours, before he got safe to land. Yet neither he, nor any of those who were with him, were the worse for all this cold and wet weather. And, when the seamen seemed very apprehensive of their danger, the King said, in a very intrepid manner—What, are you afraid to die in my company? He soon settled some points at which the states had stuck long: and they created the funds for that year. The Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg, the Dukes of Zell and Wolfenbittel, with the Landgrave of Hesse, and a great many other German princes, came to this interview, and entered into consultations concerning the operations of the next campaign. The Duke of Savoy's affairs were then very low; but the King took care of him, and furnished, as well as procured him such supplies, that his affairs had quickly a more promising face. Things were concerted among the princes themselves, and were kept so secret, that they did not trust them to their ministers; at least, the King did not communicate them to the Earl of Nottingham, as he protested solemnly to me when he came back. The princes shewed to the King all the respects that any of their rank ever paid to any crowned head; and they lived together in such an easy freedom, that points of ceremony occasioned no disputes among them; though those are often, upon less solemn interviews, the subjects of much quarrelling, and interrupt more important debates.

During this congress, Pope Alexander the Eighth, Ottoboni, died. He had succeeded Pope Innocent, and sat in that chair almost a year and a half: he was a Venetian, and intended to enrich his family as much as he could. The French King renounced his pretensions to the franchises; and he, in return for that, promoted Fourbin and some others, recommended by that court, to be cardinals; which was much resented by the Emperor. Yet he would not yield the point of the regale to the court of France; nor would he grant the bulls for those whom the King had named to the vacant bishoprics in France, who had signed the formula, passed in 1682, that declared the Pope fallible, and subject to a general council. When Pope Alexander felt himself near death, he passed a bull in due form, by which

1690.

at the  
Hague.A new pope  
chosen after  
a long con-  
clave.

1690.



he confirmed all Pope Innocent's bulls ; and by this he put a new stop to any reconciliation with the court of France. This he did, to render his name and family more acceptable to the Italians, and most particularly to his countrymen, who hated the French as much as they feared them. Upon his death, the conclave continued shut up for five months, before they could agree upon an election. The party of the zealots stood long firm to Barbarigo, who had the reputation of a saint, and seemed in all things to set Cardinal Borromeo before him as a pattern: they at last were persuaded to consent to the choice of Bignatelli, a Neapolitan, who, while he was Archbishop of Naples, had some disputes with the Viceroy, concerning the ecclesiastical immunities, which he asserted so highly, that he excommunicated some of the judges, who, as he thought, had invaded them. The Spaniards had seemed displeased at this ; which recommended him so to the French, that they also concurred to his elevation. He assumed Pope Innocent's name, and seemed resolved to follow his maxims and steps ; for he did not seek to raise his family ; of which the King told me a considerable instance:—one of his nearest kindred was then in the Spanish service in Flanders, and hasted to Rome upon his promotion ; he received him kindly enough, but presently dismissed him, giving him no other present, if he said true, but some snuff. It is true, the Spaniards afterwards promoted him ; but the Pope took no notice of that.

The siege of  
Mons.

To return to the low countries. The King of France resolved to break off the conferences at the Hague, by giving the alarm of an early campaign: Mons was besieged ; and the King came before it in person. It was thereupon given up as a lost place ; for the French ministers had laid that down among their chief maxims, that their King was never to undertake any thing in his own person, but where he was sure of success. The King broke up the congress, and drew a great army very soon together ; and, if the town had held out so long, as they might well have done, or if the governor of Flanders had performed what he undertook, of furnishing carriages to the army, the King would either have raised the siege, or forced the French to a battle. But some priests had been gained by the French, who laboured so effectually among the townsmen, who were almost as strong as the garrison, that they at last forced the governor to ca-

pitulate. Upon that, both armies went into quarters of refreshment, and the King came over again to England for a few weeks.

1690.



He gave all necessary orders for the campaign in Ireland; in which Ginkle had the chief command. Russel had the command of the fleet, which was soon ready, and well manned. The Dutch squadron came over in good time. The proposition of the quota, settled between England and the states, was, that we were to furnish five, and they three ships of equal rates and strength.

Affairs settled for the next campaign.

Affairs in Scotland were now brought to some temper: many of the lords, who had been concerned in the late plot, came up, and confessed and discovered all, and took out their pardon: they excused themselves, as apprehending that they were exposed to ruin; and that they dreaded the tyranny of presbytery no less than they did popery: and they promised that if the King would so balance matters, that the Lord Melville, and his party, should not have it in their power to ruin them and their friends, and in particular, that they should not turn out the ministers of the episcopal persuasion, who were yet in office, nor force presbyterians on them, they would engage in the King's interests faithfully and with zeal: they also undertook to quiet the highlanders, who stood out still, and were robbing the country in parties; and they undertook to the King, that, if the episcopal clergy could be assured of his protection, they would all acknowledge and serve him: they did not desire, that the King should make any step towards the changing the government that was settled there; they only desired, that episcopal ministers might continue to serve in those places that liked them best; and that no man should be brought into trouble for his opinion, as to the government of the church; and that such episcopal men, as were willing to mix with the presbyterians in their judicatories, should be admitted, without any severe imposition in point of opinion.

Affairs in Scotland.

This looked so fair, and agreed so well with the King's own sense of things, that he very easily hearkened to it; and I did believe that it was sincerely meant, so I promoted it with great zeal; though we afterwards came to see that all this was an artifice of the jacobites, to engage the King to disgust the presbyterians; and, by losing them, or at least rendering them remiss in his service, they reckoned they

Some changes made in Scotland.

1690.



would be soon masters of that kingdom : for the party resolved now to come in generally to take the oaths ; but in order to that they sent one to King James to shew the necessity of it, and the service they intended him in it ; and therefore they asked his leave to take them : that King's answer was more honest : he said he could not consent to that which he thought unlawful ; but if any of them took the oaths on design to serve him, and continued to advance his interests, he promised it should never be remembered against them. Young Dalrymple was made conjunct secretary of state with the Lord Melville ; and he undertook to bring in most of the jacobites to the King's service ; but they entered at the same time into a close correspondence with St. Germain's. I believed nothing of all this at that time, but went in cordially to serve many, who intended to betray us.

The truth was, the presbyterians, by their violence and other foolish practices, were rendering themselves both odious and contemptible. They had formed a general assembly, in the end of the former year, in which they did very much expose themselves by the weakness and peevishness of their conduct. Little learning or prudence appeared among them ; poor preaching and wretched haranguing ; partialities to one another, and violence and injustice to those who differed from them, shewed themselves in all their meetings ; and these did so much sink their reputation, that they were weaning the nation most effectually from all fondness to their government ; but the falsehood of many, who, under a pretence of moderating matters, were really undermining the King's government, helped in the sequel to preserve the presbyterians, as much as their own conduct did now alienate the King from them.

The vacant  
sees filled.

The next thing the King did was, to fill the sees vacant by deprivation. He judged right, that it was of great consequence, both to his service and to the interests of religion, to have Canterbury well filled ; for the rest would turn upon that. By the choice he was to make, all the nation would see whether he intended to go on with his first design of moderating matters, and healing our breaches ; or if he would go into the passions and humours of a high party, that seemed to court him as abjectly as they inwardly hated him. Dr. Tillotson had been now well known to him for

1690.

two years; his soft and prudent counsels, and his zeal for his service, had begot, both in the King and Queen, a high and just opinion of him. They had both, for above a year, pressed him to come into this post; and he had struggled against it with great earnestness. As he had no ambition, nor aspiring in his temper, so he foresaw what a scene of trouble and slander he must enter on, now in the decline of his age. The prejudices that the jacobites would possess all people with, for his coming into the room of one, whom they called a confessor, and who began now to have the public compassion on his side, were well foreseen by him. He also apprehended the continuance of that heat and aversion, that a violent party had always expressed towards him, though he had not only avoided to provoke any of them; but had, upon all occasions, done the chief of them great services, as oft as it was in his power. He had large principles, and was free from superstition: his zeal had been chiefly against atheism and popery; but he had never shewed much sharpness against the dissenters. He had lived in a good correspondence with many of them. He had brought several over to the church by the force of reason, and the softness of persuasion and good usage; but was a declared enemy to violence and severities on those heads. Among other prejudices against him, one related to myself. He and I had lived for many years in a close and strict friendship; he laid before the King all the ill effects that, as he thought, the promoting him would have on his own service; but all this had served only to increase the King's esteem of him, and fix him in his purpose.

The Bishop of Ely's letters to St. Germain's gave so fair an occasion of filling those sees, at this time, that the King resolved to lay hold on it: and Tillotson, with great uneasiness to himself, submitted to the King's command: and soon after the see of York falling void, Dr. Sharp was promoted to it: so those two sees were filled with the two best preachers that had sat in them in our time; only Sharp did not know the world so well, and was not so steady as Tillotson was. Dr. Patrick was advanced to Ely; Dr. More was made bishop of Norwich; Dr. Cumberland was made bishop of Peterborough; Dr. Fowler was made bishop of Gloucester; Ironside was promoted to Hereford; Grove to Chichester; and Hall to Bristol; as Hough, the

Many pro-  
motions in  
the church.

1690.



president of Magdalen's, was the year before this made bishop of Oxford: so that in two years time the King had named fifteen bishops: and they were generally looked on as the learnedest, the wisest, and best men that were in the church. It was visible, that in all these nominations, and the filling the inferior dignities that became void by their promotion: no ambition nor court favour had appeared; men were not scrambling for preferment, nor using arts, or employing friends to set them forward; on the contrary, men were sought for, and brought out of their retirements; and most of them very much against their own inclinations. They were men both of moderate principles and of calm tempers. This great promotion was such a discovery of the King and Queen's designs, with relation to the church, that it served much to remove the jealousies that some other steps the King had made were beginning to raise in the whigs, and very much softened the ill humour that was spread among them.

The campaign in Flanders.

As soon as this was over, the King went back to command his army in Flanders. Both armies were now making haste to take the field; but the French were quicker than the confederates had yet learned to be. Prince Waldeck had not got above eighteen thousand men together, when Luxemburgh, with an army of forty thousand men, was marching to have surprised Brussels; and at the same time Boufflers, with another army, came up to Liege. Waldeck posted his army so well, that Luxemburgh, believing it stronger than indeed it was, did not attempt to break through, in which it was believed he might have succeeded. The King hastened the rest of the troops, and came himself to the army in good time, not only to cover Brussels, but to send a detachment to the relief of Liege, which had been bombarded for two days. A body of Germans, as well as that which the King sent to them, came in good time to support those of Liege, who were beginning to think of capitulating: so Boufflers drew off; and the French kept themselves so close in their posts all the rest of the campaign, that though the King made many motions to try if it was possible to bring them to a battle, yet he could not do it. Signal preservations of his person did again shew that he had a watchful Providence still guarding him. Once he had stood under a tree for some time, which the enemy

observing, they levelled a cannon so exactly, that the tree was shot down two minutes after the King was gone from the place. There was one, that belonged to the train of artillery, who was corrupted to set fire to the magazine of powder; and he fired the matches of three bombs: two of these blew up, without doing any mischief, though there were twenty-four more bombs in the same waggon, on which they lay, together with a barrel of powder. The third bomb was found with the match fired, before it had its effect. If this wicked practice had succeeded, the confusion that was in all reason to be expected, upon such an accident, while the enemy was not above a league from them drawn up, and looking for the success of it, must have had terrible effects. It cannot be easily imagined how much mischief might have followed upon it in the mere destruction of so many as would have perished immediately, if the whole magazine had taken fire; as well as in the panic fear with which the rest would have been struck upon so terrible an accident, by the surprize of it, the French might have had an opportunity to have cut off the whole army. This may well be reckoned one of the miracles of Providence, that so little harm was done, when so much was intended, and so near being done. The two armies lay along between the Samber and the Maese: but no action followed. When the time came of going into quarters, the King left the armies in Prince Waldeck's hands, who was observed not to march off with that caution that might have been expected from so old a captain: Luxemburgh upon that drew out his horse, with the King's household, designing to cut off his rear; and did, upon the first surprise, put them into some disorder; but they made so good a stand, that after a very hot action, the French marched off, and lost more men on their side than we did. Auverquerque commanded the body that did this service, and with it the campaign ended in Flanders.

Matters went on at sea with the same caution: Dunkirk was for some time blocked up by a squadron of ours. The great fleet went to find out the French, but they had orders to avoid an engagement; and though, for the space of two months, Russel did all he could to come up to them, yet they still kept at a distance and sailed off in the night; so that, though he was sometimes in view of them, yet he lost

1690.

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Affairs at  
sea.

1690.



it next day. The trading part of the nation was very apprehensive of the danger the Smyrna fleet might be in, in which the Dutch and English effects together were valued at four millions; for, though they had a great convoy, yet the French fleet stood out to intercept them; but they got safe into Kinsale. The season went over without any action, and Russel, at the end of it, came into Plymouth in a storm, which was much censured—for that road is not safe; and two considerable ships were lost upon the occasion. Great factions were among the flag officers, and no other service was done by this great equipment, but that our trade was maintained.

The campaign in Ireland.

But while we had no success, either in Flanders or at sea, we were more happy in Ireland, even beyond expectation. The campaign was opened with the taking of Baltimore, on which the Irish had wrought much, that Athlone might be covered by it: we took it in one day, and the garrison had only ammunition for a day more. St. Ruth, one of the violentest of all the persecutors of the protestants in France, was sent over with two hundred officers to command the Irish army: this first action reflected much on his conduct, who left a thousand men with so slender a provision of ammunition, that they were all made prisoners of war: from thence Ginkle advanced to Athlone, where St. Ruth was posted on the other side of the Shannon, with an army in number equal to his: the river was deep, but fordable in several places; the castle was soon turned to a ruin by the cannon; but the passing the river in the face of the enemy was no easy thing, the ford being so narrow, that they could not pass above twenty in front: parties were sent out to try other fords, which probably made the enemy imagine that they never intended to pass the river just under the town, where the ford was both deep and narrow. Talmash, a general officer, moved that two battalions might have guineas apiece to encourage them, and he offered to march over at the head of them, which was presently executed by Mackay with so much resolution, that many ancient officers said, it was the gallantest action they had ever seen: they passed the river, and went through the breaches into the town with the loss only of fifty men, having killed above a thousand of the enemy, and yet they spared all that asked quarter. St. Ruth did not, upon this

all round!!!

Rat

Athlone taken.



occasion, act suitably to the reputation he had formerly acquired, he retired to Aghrem, where he posted himself to great advantage, and was much superior to Ginkle in number; for he had abandoned many small garrisons to increase his army, which was now twenty-eight thousand strong, whereas Ginkle had not above twenty thousand; so that the attacking him was no advisable thing, if the courage of the English, and the cowardice of the Irish, had not made a difference so considerable, as neither numbers nor posts could balance.

St. Ruth had indeed taken the most effectual way possible to infuse courage into the Irish: he had sent their priests about among them to animate them by all the methods they could think of; and, as the most powerful of all others, they made them swear on the sacrament, that they would never forsake their colours: this had a great effect on them; for as, when Ginkle fell on them, they had a great bog before them, and the grounds on both sides were very favourable to them; with those advantages they maintained their ground much longer than they had been accustomed to do. They disputed the matter so obstinately, that for about two hours the action was very hot, and every battalion and squadron on both sides had a share in it: but nature will be always too strong for art: the Irish, in conclusion, trusted more to their heels than to their hands; the foot threw down their arms and ran away. St. Ruth, and many more officers were killed, and about eight thousand soldiers, and all their cannon and baggage, was taken; so that it was a total defeat, only the night favoured a body of horse that got off. From thence Ginkle advanced to Galloway, which capitulated; so that now Limerick was the only place that stood out: a squadron of ships was sent to shut up the river. In the meanwhile, the lords justices issued out a new proclamation, with an offer of life and estate, to such as, within a fortnight, should come under the King's protection.

Ginkle pursued his advantages; and, having reduced all Connaught, he came and sat down before Limerick and bombarded it: but that had no great effect; and, though most of the houses were beaten down, yet as long as the Connaught side was open, fresh men and provisions were still brought into the place. When the men of war were come up near the town, Ginkle sent over a part of his

1690.

The battle of  
Aghrem.

1691.

Limerick  
besieged.

1691.



army to the Connaught side, who fell upon some bodies of the Irish that lay there, and broke them, and pursued them so close as they retired to Limerick, that the French governor, D'Usson, fearing that the English would have come in with them, drew up the bridge; so that many of them were killed and drowned. This contributed very much towards heightening the prejudices that the Irish had against the French. The latter were so inconsiderable, that, if Sarsfield and some of the Irish had not joined with them, they could not have made their party good. The Earl of Tyrconnel, had, with a particular view, studied to divert the French from sending over soldiers into Ireland; for he designed, in case of new misfortunes, to treat with the King, and to preserve himself and his friends; and now he began to dispose the Irish to think of treating; since they saw that otherwise their ruin was inevitable. But, as soon as this was suspected, all the military men, who resolved to give themselves up entirely to the French interest, combined against him, and blasted him as a feeble and false man, who was not to be trusted. This was carried so far, that, to avoid affronts, he was advised to leave the army; and he staid all this summer at Limerick, where he died of grief, as was believed: but, before he died, he advised all that came to him not to let things go to extremities, but to accept of such terms as could be got; and his words seemed to weigh more after his death than in his life-time; for the Irish began generally to say, that they must take care of themselves, and not be made sacrifices to serve the ends of the French. This was much heightened by the slaughter of the Irish, whom the French governor had shut out, and left to perish. They wanted no provisions in Limerick; and a squadron of French ships stood over to that coast, which was much stronger than ours that had sailed up to the town: so it was to be feared that they might come into the river to destroy our ships.

To hinder that, another squadron of English men-of-war was ordered thither: yet the French did not think fit to venture their ships within the Shannon, where they had no places of shelter. The misunderstanding that daily grew between the Irish and the French was great; and all appearance of relief from France failing, made them resolve to capitulate. This was very welcome to Ginkle and his

army, who began to be in great wants; for that country was quite wasted, having been the seat of war for three years; and all their draught-horses were so wearied out, that their camp was often ill supplied.

When they came to capitulate, the Irish insisted on very high demands; which was set on by the French, who hoped they would be rejected: but the King had given Ginkle secret directions, that he should grant all the demands they could make, that would put an end to that war: so every thing was granted, to the great disappointment of the French, and the no small grief of some of the English, who hoped this war should have ended in the total ruin of the Irish interest. During the treaty, a saying of Sarsfield's deserves to be remembered; for it was much talked of all Europe over: he asked some of the English officers, if they had not come to a better opinion of the Irish, by their behaviour during this war; and whereas they said, it was much the same as it had always been: Sarsfield answered—As low as we now are, change but kings with us, and we will fight it over again with you. Those of Limerick treated not only for themselves, but for all the rest of their countrymen, that were yet in arms.

They were all indemnified and restored to all, that they had enjoyed in King Charles's time: they were also admitted to all the privileges of subjects upon their taking the oaths of allegiance to their Majesties, without being bound to take the oath of supremacy. Not only the French, but as many of the Irish as had a mind to go over to France had free liberty, and a safe transportation; and, upon that, about twelve thousand of them went over.

And thus ended the war of Ireland, and with that our civil war came to a final end. The articles of capitulation were punctually executed, and some doubts that arose out of some ambiguous words were explained in favour of the Irish. So earnestly desirous was the King to have all matters quieted at home, that he might direct his whole force against the enemy abroad. The English in Ireland, though none could suffer more by the continuance of the war than they did, yet were uneasy when they saw that the Irish had obtained such good conditions: some of the more violent men among them, who were much exasperated with the wrongs that had been done them, began to call in question

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The Irish capitulate.

The war there at an end.

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the legality of some of the articles; but the parliament of England did not think fit to enter upon that discussion, nor made they any motions towards the violating the capitulation. Ginkle came over full of honour after so glorious a campaign, and was made Earl of Athlone, and had noble rewards for the great service he had done; though, without detracting from him a large share of all that was done, was due to some of the general officers, in particular to Rouvigny, made upon this Earl of Galloway, to Mackay, and Tallmash. Old Rouvigny being dead, his son offered his service to the King, who unwillingly accepted of it, because he knew that an estate which his father had in France, and of which he had still the income, would be immediately confiscated; but he had no regard to that, and heartily engaged in the King's service, and has been ever since employed in many eminent posts, in all which he has acquitted himself with that great reputation, both for capacity, integrity, courage and application, as well as success in most of his undertakings, that he is justly reckoned among the great men of the age; and, to crown all, he is a man of eminent virtues, great piety and zeal for religion.

Affairs in  
Hungary.

The Emperor's affairs in Hungary went on successfully this year, under the command of Prince Lewis of Baden, though he committed an error that was like to have proved fatal to him: his stores lay near him, in great boats on the Danube; but, upon some design he made a motion off from that river, of which the Grand Vizier took the advantage, and got into his camp, between him and his stores: so he must either starve, or break through to come at his provisions. The Turks had not time to fortify themselves in their new camp: so he attacked them with such fury, that they were quite routed, and lost camp and cannon, and a great part of their army; the Grand Vizier himself being killed. If the court of Vienna had really desired a peace, they might have had it, upon this victory, on very easy terms: but they resolved they would be masters of all Transylvania; and, in order to that, they undertook the siege of Great Waradin, which they were forced to turn to a blockade: so that it fell not into their hands till the spring following. The Emperor was led on by the prophecies, that assured him of constant conquests, and that he should, in conclusion, arrive at Constantinople itself:

so that the practices of those, whom the French had gained about him, had but too much matter to work on in himself. 1691.

The news of the total reduction of Ireland confirmed him in his resolutions of carrying on the war in Hungary. It was reckoned that England, being now disengaged at home, would, with the rest of the protestant allies, be able to carry on the war with France. And the two chief passions in the Emperor's mind, being his hatred of heresy, and his hatred of France, it was said, that those about him, who served the interests of that court, persuaded him that he was to let the war go on between France, and those he esteemed heretics; since he would be a gainer, which side soever should lose: either France would be humbled, or the heretics be exhausted; while he should extend his dominions, and conquer infidels. The King had a sort of regard and submission to the Emperor, that he had to no other prince whatsoever: so that he did not press him, as many desired he should, to accept of a peace with the Turks, that so he might turn his whole force against France.

Germany was now more entirely united in one common interest than ever; the third party that the French had formed to obstruct the war, were now gone off from those measures, and engaged in the general interest of the empire: the two northern kings had some satisfaction given them, in point of trade, that so they might maintain their neutrality: and they were favourable to the allies, though not engaged with them. The King of Sweden, whom the French were pressing to offer his mediation for a peace, wrote to the Duke of Hanover, assuring him he would never hearken to that proposition, till he had full assurances from the French, that they would own the present government of England.

That Duke, who had been long in a French management, did now break off all commerce with that court, and entered into a treaty, both with the Emperor and with the King. He promised great supplies against France and the Turk, if he might be made an elector of the empire: in which the King concurred to press the matter so earnestly at the court of Vienna, that they agreed to it, in case he could gain the consent of the other electors; which the Emperor's ministers resolved to oppose, underhand, all they could. He quickly gained the consent of the greater number of the

The maxims  
of the court  
of Vienna.

The state of  
the empire.

A ninth  
Elector  
created.

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electors, yet new objections were still made. It was said, that if this was granted, another electorate in a popish family ought also to be created, to balance the advantage that this gave the Lutherans: and they moved that Austria should be made an electorate. But this was so much opposed, since it gave the Emperor two votes in the electoral college, that it was let fall. In conclusion, after a year's negotiation, and a great opposition, both by popish and protestant princes, (some of the latter considering more their jealousies of the house of Hanover, than the interest of their religion,) the investiture was given, with the title of Elector of Brunswick, and Great Marshal of the Empire. The French opposed this, with all the artifices they could set at work. The matter lay long in an unsettled state: nor was he now admitted into the college; it being said, that the unanimous consent of all the electors must be first had.

Affairs in  
Savoy.

The affairs of Savoy did not go on so prosperously as was hoped for: Caraffa, that commanded the imperial army, was more intent on raising contributions, than on carrying on the war: he crossed every good motion that was made: Montmelian was lost, which was chiefly imputed to Caraffa. The young Duke of Schomberg, sent thither to command those troops that the King paid, undertook to relieve the place, and was assured that many protestants in Dauphiny would come and join him. But Caraffa, and indeed the court of Turin, seemed to be more afraid of the strength of heresy, than of the power of France; and chose to let that important place fall into their hands, rather than suffer it to be relieved by those they did not like. When the Duke of Savoy's army went into quarters, Caraffa obliged the neighbouring princes, and the state of Genoa, to contribute to the subsistence of the imperial army, threatening them otherwise with winter quarters: so that how ill soever he managed the Duke of Savoy's concerns, he took care of his own. He was recalled, upon the complaints made against him on all hands; and Caprara was sent to command in his room.

The Elec-  
tor of Ba-  
varia com-  
manded in  
Flanders.

The greatest danger lay in Flanders, where the feebleness of the Spanish government did so exhaust and weaken the whole country, that all the strength of the confederate armies was scarce able to defend it. The Spaniards had offered to deliver it up to the King, either as he was King

of England, or as he was Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He knew the bigotry of the people so well, that he was convinced it was not possible to get them to submit to a protestant government; but he proposed the Elector of Bavaria, who seemed to have much heat, and an ambition of signalizing himself in that country, which was then the chief scene of war; and he could support that government by the troops and treasure that he might draw out of his electorate: besides, if he governed that country well, and acquired a fame in arms, that might give him a prospect of succeeding to the crown of Spain, in the right of his Electoress, who, if the house of Bourbon was set aside, was next in that succession. The Spaniards agreed to this proposal; but they would not make the first offer of it to that Elector, nor would he ask it; and it stuck for some time at this; but the court of Vienna adjusted the matter, by making the proposition, which the Elector accepted: and that put a new life into those oppressed and miserable provinces.

This was the general state of affairs, when a new session of parliament was opened at Westminster; and then it appeared, that a party was avowedly formed against the government. They durst not own that before, while the war of Ireland continued. But now, since that was at an end, they began to infuse into all people, that there was no need of keeping up a great land army, and that we ought only to assist our allies with some auxiliary troops, and increase our force at sea. Many that understood not the state of foreign affairs, were drawn into this conceit, not considering, that if Flanders was lost, Holland must submit, and take the best terms they could get. And the conjunction of those two great powers at sea, must presently ruin our trade, and in a little time subdue us entirely. But it was not easy to bring all people to apprehend this aright; and those who had ill intentions would not be beaten out of it, but covered worse designs with this pretence; and this was still kept up as a prejudice against the King and his government, that he loved to have a great army about him, and that when they were once modelled he would never part with them, but govern in an arbitrary way as soon as he had prepared his soldiers to serve his ends.

1691.



A session of parliament.

1691.  
Jealousies  
of the King.

Another prejudice had more colour, and as bad effects: the King was thought to love the Dutch more than the English; to trust more to them, and to admit them to more freedom with him. He gave too much occasion to a general disgust, which was spread both among the English officers and the nobility: he took little pains to gain the affections of the nation; nor did he constrain himself enough to render his government more acceptable. He was shut up all the day long; and his silence, when he admitted any to an audience, distasted them as much as if they had been denied it. The Earl of Marlborough thought that the great services he had done were not acknowledged nor rewarded as they well deserved, and began to speak like a man discontented. And the strain of the nation almost was, that the English were overlooked, and the Dutch were the only persons favoured or trusted. This was national; and the English being too apt to despise other nations, and being of more lively tempers than the Dutch, grew to express a contempt and an aversion for them, that went almost to a mutiny. It is true the Dutch behaved themselves so well and so regularly in their quarters, and paid for every thing so punctually; whereas the English were apt to be rude and exacting, especially those who were all this winter coming over from Ireland, who had been so long in an enemy's country, that they were not easily brought into order: so that the common people were generally better pleased with the Dutch soldiers than with their own countrymen; but it was not the same as to the officers. These seeds of discontent were carefully managed by the enemies of the government; and by those means matters went on heavily in the House of Commons. The King was also believed to be so tender in every point that seemed to relate to his prerogative, that he could not well bear any thing that was a diminution of it; and he was said to have taken a dislike and mistrust of all those whose notions leaned to public liberty, though those were the persons that were the firmest to him, and the most zealous for him. The men, whose notions of the prerogative were the highest, were suspected to be jacobites: yet it was observed, that many of these were much courted, and put into employments, in which they shewed so little affection to the government, and so close a correspondence with its



professed enemies, that it was generally believed they intended to betray it. The blame of employing these men was cast on the Earl of Nottingham, who, as the whigs said, infused into the King jealousies of his best friends, and inclined him to court some of his bitterest enemies.

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The taking off parliament-men, who complained of grievances, by places and pensions, was believed to be now very generally practised. Seymour, who had, in a very injurious manner, not only opposed every thing, but had reflected on the King's title and conduct, was this winter brought into the Treasury and the cabinet-council: yet, though a great opposition was made, and many delays contrived, all the money that was asked was at length given. Among the bills that were offered to the King, at the end of the session, one was to secure the judges' salaries, and to put it out of the King's power to stop them. The judges had their commission during their good behaviour; yet their salaries were not so secured to them, but that these were at the King's pleasure. But the King put a stop to this, and refused to pass the bill; for it was represented to him, by some of the judges themselves, that it was not fit they should be out of all dependance on the court; though it did not appear that there was any hurt in making judges, in all respects free and independent. A parliament was summoned to meet in Ireland, to annul all that had passed in King James's parliament; to confirm anew the act of settlement; and to do all other things that the broken state of that impoverished island required, and to grant supplies as they could raise, and as the state of their affairs would permit.

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Affairs in Scotland were put in another method. Lord Tweeddale was made lord chancellor, and not long after a marquis in that kingdom. Lord Melville was put in a less important post; and most of his creatures were laid aside; but several of those, who had been in Montgomery's plot, were brought into the council and ministry. Johnstoun, who had been sent envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg, was called home, and made secretary of state for that kingdom. It began soon to appear in Scotland, how ill the King was advised when he brought in some of the plotters into the chief posts of that government. As this disgusted the presbyterians, so it was very visible, that those pretended

Affairs in  
Scotland.

1692.

converts came into his service, only to have it in their power to deliver up that kingdom to King James. They scarce disguised their designs; so that the trusting such men amazed all people. The presbyterians had very much offended the King, and their fury was instrumental in raising great jealousies of him in England. He well foresaw the ill effects this was like to have; and therefore he recommended to a general assembly, that met this winter, to receive the episcopal clergy to concur with them in the government of the church, upon their desiring to be admitted; and in case the assembly could not be brought to consent to this, the King ordered it to be dissolved, without naming any other time or place of meeting. It was not likely that there could be any agreement, where both parties were so much inflamed one against another: and those who had the greatest credit with both, studied rather to exasperate than to soften them. The episcopal party carried it high: they gave it out that the King was now theirs; and that they were willing to come to a concurrence with presbytery, on design to bring all about to episcopacy in a little time. The presbyterians, who at all times were stiff and peevish, were more than ordinarily so at this time. They were jealous of the King: their friends were now disgraced, and their bitterest enemies were coming into favour: so they were surly, and would abate in no point of their government; and upon that the assembly was dissolved: but they pretended, that by law they had a right to an annual meeting, from which nothing could cut them off: for they said, according to a distinction much used among them, that the King's power of calling synods and assemblies was cumulative, and not privative; that is, he might call them if he would, and appoint time and place; but that if he did not call them, they might meet by an inherent right that the church had, which was confirmed by law: therefore they adjourned themselves: this was represented to the King as a high strain of insolence, that invaded the rights of the crown, of which he was become very sensible. Most of those, who came now into his service, made it their business to incense him against the presbyterians, in which he was so far engaged, that it did alienate that party much from him.

There was, at this time, a very barbarous massacre com-

mitted in Scotland, which shewed both the cruelty and the treachery of some of those who had unhappily insinuated themselves into the King's confidence. The Earl of Breadalbane formed a scheme of quieting all the highlanders, if the King would give 12 or 15,000*l.* for doing it, which was remitted down from England; and this was to be divided among the heads of the tribes, or clans of the highlanders. He employed his emissaries among them, and told them the best service they could do King James, was, to lie quiet, and reserve themselves to a better time; and if they would take the oaths, the King would be contented with that, and they were to have a share of this sum that was sent down to buy their quiet: but this came to nothing; their demands rose high; they knew this lord had money to distribute among them; they believed he intended to keep the best part of it to himself; so they asked more than he could give. Among the most clamorous and obstinate of these were the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who were believed guilty of much robbery, and many murders; and so had gained too much by their pilfering war, to be easily brought to give it over. The head of that valley had so particularly provoked Lord Breadalbane, that as his scheme was quite defeated by the opposition that he raised, so he designed a severe revenge. The King had, by a proclamation, offered an indemnity to all the highlanders that had been in arms against him, upon their coming in, by a prefixed day, to take the oaths. The day had been twice or thrice prolonged; and it was at last carried to the end of the year 1691; with a positive threatening, of proceeding to military execution against such as should not come into his obedience by the last day of December.

All were so terrified that they came in, and even that Macdonald went to the Governor of Fort William on the last of December, and offered to take the oaths; but he being only a military man, could not, or would not tender them, and Macdonald was forced to seek for some of the legal magistrates to tender them to him: the snows were then fallen, so four or five days passed before he could come to a magistrate: he took the oaths in his presence on the 4th or 5th of January, when, by the strictness of law he could claim no benefit by it: the matter was signified to

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The affair of  
Glencoe.

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the council, and the person had a reprimand for giving him the oaths when the day was passed.

This was kept up from the King, and the Earl of Breadalbane came to court to give an account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, since he could not do the service for which he had it. He informed against this Macdonald, as the chief person who had defeated that good design: and, that he might both gratify his own revenge, and render the King odious to all the highlanders, he proposed that orders should be sent for a military execution on those of Glencoe. An instruction was drawn by the Secretary of State,\* to be both signed and countersigned by the King (that so he might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lie wholly on the King), that such as had not taken the oaths by the time limited, should be shut out of the benefit of the indemnity, and be received only upon mercy. But when it was found that this would not authorize what was intended; a second order was got to be signed and countersigned, that if the Glencoe men could be separated from the rest of the highlanders, some examples might be made of them, in order to strike terror into the rest. The King signed this without any inquiry about it; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his slowness in dispatching business; for as he was apt to suffer things to run on, till there was a great heap of papers laid before him; so then he signed them a little too precipitately. But all this while the King knew nothing of Macdonald's offering to take the oaths within the time, nor of his having taken them soon after it was past, when he came to a proper magistrate. As these orders were sent down, the Secretary of State writ many private letters to Levingstoun, who commanded in Scotland, giving him a strict charge and particular directions for the execution of them; and he ordered the passes in the valley to be kept, describing them so minutely, that the orders were certainly drawn by one who knew the country well. He gave also a positive direction that no prisoners should be taken, that so the execution might be as terrible as was possible. He pressed this upon Levingstoun, with strains of vehemence,

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\* The Master of Stair was then Secretary of State.

that looked as if there was something more than ordinary in it: he indeed grounded it on his zeal for the King's service, adding, that such rebels and murderers should be made examples of.

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In February, a company was sent to Glencoe, who were kindly received and quartered over the valley; the inhabitants thinking themselves safe, and looking for no hostilities: after they had staid a week among them, they took their time in the night, and killed about six-and-thirty of them, the rest taking the alarm and escaping: this raised a mighty out-cry, and was published by the French in their Gazettes, and by the jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the King's government, as cruel and barbarous; though in all other instances it had appeared, that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess. The King sent orders to inquire into the matter: but when the letters, writ upon this business, were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared that so many were involved in the matter, that the King's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault, and he contented himself with dismissing only the Master of Stair from his service. The highlanders were so inflamed with this, that they were put in as forward a disposition as the jacobites could wish for, to have rebelled upon the first favourable opportunity; and indeed the not punishing this with a due rigour, was the greatest blot in this whole reign, and had a very ill effect in alienating that nation from the King and his government.

An incident happened near the end of this session, that had very ill effects; which I unwillingly mention, because it cannot be told without some reflections on the memory of the Queen, whom I always honoured, beyond all the persons I had ever known. The Earl of Nottingham came to the Earl of Marlborough, with a message from the King, telling him that he had no more use for his service, and therefore he demanded all his commissions. What drew so sudden and so hard a message was not known; for he had been with the King that morning, and had parted with him in the ordinary manner. It seemed, some letter was intercepted, which gave suspicion: it is certain, that he thought he was too little considered, and that he had, upon many occasions, censured the King's conduct, and reflected on the Dutch. But the original cause of his disgrace

The Earl of  
Marlbo-  
rough dis-  
graced.

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arose from another consideration: the Princess thought herself too much neglected by the King, whose cold way towards her was soon observed: after the King was on the throne, no propositions were made to her of a settlement, nor any advances of money. So she, thinking she was to be kept in a necessitous dependance on the court, got some to move in the House of Commons, in the year 1690, when they were in the debate concerning the revenue, that she should have assignments suitable to her dignity. This both King and Queen took amiss from her: the Queen complained more particularly that she was then ill, after her lying-in of the Duke of Gloucester at Hampton-Court, and that she herself was treating her and the young child with the tenderness of a mother, and that yet such a motion was made before she had tried in a private way what the King intended to assign her. The Princess, on the other hand, said, she knew the Queen was a good wife, submissive and obedient to every thing that the King desired, so she thought the best way was to have a settlement by act of parliament: on the other hand, the custom had always been, that the royal family, (a prince of Wales not excepted,) was kept in a dependance on the King, and had no allowance but from his mere favour and kindness; yet in this case, in which the Princess was put out of the succession during the King's life, it seemed reasonable that somewhat more than ordinary should be done in consideration of that. The act passed, allowing her a settlement of 50,000*l*. But upon this a coldness followed, between not only the King, but even the Queen and the Princess. And the blame of this motion was cast on the Countess of Marlborough, as most in favour with the Princess; and this had contributed much to alienate the King from her husband, and had disposed him to receive ill impressions of him.

A breach  
between the  
Queen and  
the Princess.

Upon his disgrace, his lady was forbid the court: the Princess would not submit to this: she thought, she ought to be allowed to keep what persons she pleased about herself: and when the Queen insisted on the thing, she retired from the court. There were, no doubt, ill offices done on all hands, as there were some that pressed the Princess to submit to the Queen, as well as others who pressed the Queen to pass it over, but without effect; both had engaged themselves, before they had well reflected on

the consequences of such a breach. And the matter went so far, that the Queen ordered, that no public honours should be shewed the Princess, besides many other lesser matters, which I unwillingly reflect on, because I was much troubled to see the Queen carry such a matter so far: and the breach continued to the end of her life. The enemies of the government tried what could be made of this, to create distractions among us: but the Princess gave no encouragement to them. So that this misunderstanding had no other effect, but that it gave enemies much ill-natured joy, and a secret spiteful diversion.

The King gave Russel the command of the fleet; though he had put himself on ill terms with him, by pressing to know the grounds of the Earl of Marlborough's disgrace. He had not only lived in great friendship with him, but had carried the first messages that had passed between him and the King, when he went over to Holland. He almost upbraided the King with the Earl of Marlborough's services, who, as he said, had set the crown on his head. Russel also came to be in ill terms with the Earl of Nottingham, who, as he thought, supported a faction among the flag officers against him; and he fell indeed into so ill an humour, on many accounts, that he seemed to be for some time in doubt, whether he ought to undertake the command of the fleet, or not. I tried, at the desire of some of his friends, to soften him a little, but without success.

Russel commanded the fleet.

The King went over to Holland in March, to prepare for an early campaign. He intimated somewhat in his speech to the parliament of a descent designed upon France, but we had neither men nor money to execute it: and, while we were pleasing ourselves with the thoughts of a descent in France, King James was preparing for a real one in England: it was intended to be made in the end of April: he had about him fourteen thousand English and Irish; and Marshal Belfonds was to accompany him with about three thousand French. They were to sail from Cherbourg and La Hogue, and some other places in Normandy, and to land in Sussex, and from thence to march with all haste to London. A transport fleet was also brought thither: they were to bring over only a small number of horses, for their party, in England, undertook to furnish them with horses at their landing: at the same time, the King of France was to

A descent in England, prepared by King James.

1692.

1692.



march with a great army into Flanders, and he reckoned that the descent in England would either have succeeded, since there was a very small force left within the kingdom, or at least that it would have obliged the King to come over with some of his English troops; and in that case, which way soever the war of England had ended, he should have mastered Flanders, and so forced the states to submit; and in case other designs had failed, there was one in reserve, managed by the French ministry and by Luxembourg, of assassinating the King, which would have brought about all their designs. The French King seemed to think the project was so well laid that it could not miscarry; for he said publicly, before he set out, that he was going to make an end of the war. We in England were all this while very secure, and did not apprehend we were in any danger: both the King and his secretaries were much blamed for taking so little care to procure intelligence: if the winds had favoured the French, they themselves would have brought us the first news of their design: they sent over some persons to give their friends notice, but a very few days before they reckoned they should be on our coast: one of these was a Scotchman, and brought the first discovery to Johnstone; orders were presently sent out to bring together such forces as lay scattered in quarters, and a squadron of our fleet, that was set to sea, was ordered to lay on the coast of Normandy: but the heavens fought against them more effectually than we could have done. There was, for a whole month together, such a storm that lay on their coast, that it was not possible for them to come out of their ports, nor could Marshal D'Estrees come about with the squadron from Toulon, so soon as was expected. In the beginning of May, about forty of our ships were on the coast of Normandy, and were endeavouring to destroy their transport ships; upon which, orders were sent to Marshal Tourville, to sail to the Channel, and fight the English fleet. They had a westerly wind to bring them within the Channel, but then the wind struck into the east, and stood so long there, that it both brought over the Dutch fleet, and brought about our great ships; by this means our whole fleet was joined, so that Tourville's design of getting between the several squadrons that composed it was lost. The King of France, being then in Flanders, upon



this change of wind, sent orders to Tourville not to fight; yet the vessel that carried these was taken, and the duplicate of these orders that was sent by another conveyance, came not to him till the day after the engagement.

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On the 19th of May, Russel came up with the French, and was almost twice their number, yet not above the half of his ships could be brought into the action by reason of the winds: Rook, one of his admirals, was thought more in fault. The number of the ships that engaged was almost equal; our men said, that the French neither shewed courage nor skill in the action. The night and a fog separated the two fleets, after an engagement that had lasted some hours. The greatest part of the French ships drew near their coasts, but Russel, not casting anchor as the French did, was carried out by the tide; so next morning he was at some distance from them: a great part of the French fleet sailed westward, through a dangerous sea, called the Race of Alderney; Ashby was sent to pursue them, and he followed them some leagues; but then, the pilots pretending danger, he came back; so twenty-six of them, whom if Ashby had pursued, by all appearance, he had destroyed them, got into St. Malo's. Russel came up to the French admiral, and the other ships that had drawn near their coasts; Delaval burnt the admiral, and his two seconds, and Rook burnt sixteen more before La Hogue.

A great victory at sea.

It was believed, that if this success had been pursued with vigour, considering the consternation with which the French were struck, upon such an unusual and surprising blow, that this victory might have been carried much farther than it was. But Russel was provoked by some letters and orders, that the Earl of Nottingham sent him from the Queen, which he thought were the effects of ignorance: and upon that he fell into a crossness of disposition: he found fault with every order that was sent him; but would offer no advices on his part. And he came soon after to St. Helen's, which was much censured; for though the disabled ships must have been sent in, yet there was no such reason for bringing in the rest, that were not touched. Cross winds kept them long in port; so that a great part of the summer was spent before he went out again. The French had recovered out of the first disorder, which had quite dispirited them. A descent in France came to be

But not followed as it might have been.

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thought on, when it was too late: about seven thousand men were shipped; and it was intended to land them at St. Malo's; but the seamen were of opinion, that neither there, nor any where else, a descent was then practicable. They complained, that the Earl of Nottingham was ignorant of sea affairs, and yet that he set on propositions relating to them, without consulting seamen, and sent orders which could not be obeyed, without endangering the whole fleet. So the men, who were thus shipped, lay some days on board, to the great reproach of our counsels: but, that we might not appear too ridiculous, both at home and abroad, by landing them again in England, the King ordered them to be sent over to Flanders, after they had been for some weeks on shipboard; and so our campaign at sea, that began so gloriously, had a poor conclusion. The common reflection that was made on our conduct was, that the providence of God, and the valour of our men, had given us a victory, of which we knew not what use to make; and, which was worse, our merchants complained of great losses this summer; for the French having laid up their fleet, let their seamen go and serve in privateers, with which they watched all the motions of our trade. And so, by an odd reverse of things, as we made no considerable losses, while the French were masters of our sea, two years before; so now, when we triumphed on that element, our merchants suffered the most. The conclusion of all was, Russel complained of the ministry, particularly of the Earl of Nottingham; and they complained no less of him; and the merchants complained of the Admiralty: but they, in their own defence said, that we had not ships nor seamen, both to furnish out a great fleet, and at the same time to send out convoys for securing the trade.

A design to  
assassinate  
the King.

In Flanders, the design to which the French trusted most failed: that was laid for assassinating the King. One Grandval had been in treaty with Louvoy about it; and it was intended to be executed the former year. He joined with Du Mont to follow the King and shoot him, as he was riding about in his ordinary way, moving slowly, and visiting the posts of his army. The King of France had lost two ministers, one after another. Seignelay died first, who had no extraordinary genius himself, but he knew all his father's methods, and pursued them so, that he governed

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his conduct, both by his father's maxims, and with his tools. Louvoy did not survive him long: he had more fire, and so grew uneasy at the authority Madame de Maintenon took in things which she could not understand: and was, in conclusion, so unacceptable to the King, that once, when he flung his bundle of papers down upon the floor before him, upon some provocation, the King lifted up his cane; but the Lady held him from doing more: yet that affront, as was given out, sunk so deep into Louvoy's spirits, that he died suddenly a few days after. Some said it was of an apoplexy; others suspected poison; for a man that knew so many secrets, would have been dangerous if he had outlived his favour. His son, Barbesieux, had the survivance of his place, and continued in it for some years; but, as he was young, so he had not a capacity equal to the post. He found among his father's papers, a memorandum of this design of Grandval's: so he sent for him, and resolved to pursue it; in which Madame de Maintenon concurred, and Luxemburgh was trusted with the direction of it. Du Mont retired this winter to Zell, as one that had forsaken the French service. From some practices and discourses of his, a suspicion arose, of which Sir William Colt, the King's envoy there, gave notice: so one Leefdale, a Dutch papist, was secretly sent to Paris, as a person that would enter into the design; but, in reality, went on purpose to discover it.

Grandval and he came back to Flanders, to set about it: but Leefdale brought him into a party that seized on him: both King James, and his Queen, were, as Grandval said, engaged in the design. One Parker, whom they employed in many black designs, had concerted the matter with Grandval, as he confessed, and had carried him to King James, who encouraged him to go on with it, and promised great rewards. When Grandval saw there was full proof against him, he confessed the whole series of the management, without staying till he were put to the torture. Mr. Morel, of Berne, a famous medalist, (who had, for some years, the charge of the French King's cabinet of medals; but, being a protestant, and refusing to change his religion, was kept a close prisoner in the Bastille for seven years,) was let out in April this year; and, before he left Paris, his curiosity carried him to St. Germain's to see King James:

Grandval suffered for it, and confesses it.

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he happened both to go and come back in the coach with Grandval; and, while he was there, he saw him in private discourse with King James: Grandval was full of this project; and, according to the French way, he talked very loosely to Morel, not knowing who he was; but fancied he was well affected to that court. He said there was a design in hand, that would confound all Europe; for the Prince of Orange, so called the King, would not live a month. This Morel writ over to me in too careless a manner; for he directed his letter with his own hand, which was well known at court, yet it came safe to me. The King gave orders, that none belonging to him should go near Grandval, that there might be no colour for saying, that the hopes of life had drawn his confession from him: nor was he strictly interrogated concerning circumstances; but was left to tell his story, as he pleased, himself. He was condemned; and suffered with some slight remorse for going into a design to kill a king. His confession was printed; but how black soever it represented the court of France, no notice was taken of it: nor did any of that court offer to disown or disprove it, but let it pass and be forgotten: yet so blind and violent was their party among us, that they resolved they would believe nothing that either blemished King James or the French court.

Namur was  
taken by the  
French.

• But though this miscarried, the French succeeded in the siege of Namur; a place of great importance, that commanded both the Maese and Sambre, and covered both Liege and Maestricht: the town did soon capitulate, but the citadel held out much longer. The King came with a great army to raise the siege; Luxemburgh lay in his way with another to cover it; and the Mehaigne lay between. The King intended to pass the river, and force a battle; but such rains fell the night before he designed to do it, and the river swelled so much, that he could not pass it for some days. He tried by another motion to come and raise the siege: but the town having capitulated so early, and the citadel laying on the other side of the Sambre, he could not come at it: so, after a month's siege, it was taken. This was looked on as the greatest action of the French King's life; that, notwithstanding the depression of such a defeat at sea, he yet supported his measures so as to take that important place in the view of a great army. The

King's conduct was on this occasion much censured; it was said, he ought to have put much to hazard, rather than suffer such a place to be taken in his sight.

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After Namur surrendered, that King went back to Paris in his usual method; for, according to the old Persian luxury, he used to bring the ladies with him, with the music, poems, and scenes, for an opera, and a ball; in which he and his actions were to be set out, with the pomp of much flattery. When this action was over, his forces lay on the defensive, and both armies made some motions, watching and waiting on one another.

At Steenkirk, the King thought he had a favourable occasion for attacking the French in their camp; but the ground was found to be narrower, and less practicable, than the King had been made to believe it was. Ten battalions begun the attack, and carried a post with cannon, and maintained it long, doing great execution on the enemy; and, if they had been supported, or brought off, it had proved a brave attempt: but they were cut in pieces. In the whole action, the French lost many more men than the confederates did; for they came so thick, that our fire made great execution. The conduct of this affair was much censured. It was said, the ground ought to have been better examined, before the attack was begun; and the men ought to have been better maintained than they were: for many thought, that if this had been done, we might have had a total victory. Count Solms bore the blame of the errors committed on this occasion. The English had been sometimes checked by him, as he was much disgusted with their heat and pride: so they charged all on him, who had some good qualities; but did not manage them in an obliging manner. We lost in this action about five thousand men, and many brave officers: here Mackay was killed, being ordered to a post that he saw could not be maintained: he sent his opinion about it, but the former orders were confirmed; so he went on, saying only,—The will of the Lord be done. He was a man of such strict principles, that he would not have served in a war that he did not think lawful. He took great care of his soldiers' morals, and forced them to be both sober and just in their quarters: he spent all the time that he was master of in secret prayers, and in reading of the Scriptures. The King often observed, that

The battle  
of Steen-  
kirk.

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when he had full leisure for his devotions, he acted with a peculiar exaltation of courage. He had one very singular quality: in councils of war he delivered his opinion freely, and maintained it with due zeal; but how positive soever he was in it, if the council of war over-ruled it, even though he was not convinced by it, yet to all others he justified it, and executed his part with the same zeal, as if his own opinion had prevailed. After the action at Steenkirk, there was little done this campaign. A detachment, that the King sent from his army, joined with those bodies that came from England, broke in some way into the French conquests: they fortified Dixmuyde and Furnes, and put the country about them under contribution, and became very uneasy neighbours to Dunkirk. The command of those places was given to the Count of Horn, who understood well the way to make all possible advantages by contributions; but he was a man of no great worth, and of as little courage: this disgusted the English still more, who said, the Dutch were always trusted and preferred while they were neglected: they had some colour to censure this choice the following winter: for, upon the motion of some French troops, Horn (without studying to amuse the enemy, or to gain time, upon which much may depend in winter) did immediately abandon Dixmuyde: all he had to justify himself was a letter from the Elector of Bavaria, telling him that he could send him no relief, and therefore he ordered him to take care of the garrison, which was of more importance than the place itself: thus the campaign ended in Flanders; Namur was lost, the reputation of the King's conducting armies was much sunk, and the English were generally discontented, and alienated from the Dutch.

Affairs in  
Germany.

Nothing was done on the Rhine; the Elector of Saxony had promised to bring an army thither, but Shening, his general, who had great power over him, was gained by the French to break his design. The Duke of Saxony complained that the Emperor favoured the circles of Franconia and Swabia so much, that he could have no good quarters assigned him for his army, and upon this occasion it was said, that the Emperor drew much money from those circles that they might be covered from winter quarters, and that he applied all that to carrying on the war in Hungary, and so left the weight of the war with France to lie very

heavy on the princes of the empire : this contest went on so high, that Shening, who was thought the ill instrument in it, going for his health to the hot baths in Bohemia, was seized on by the Emperor's orders ; upon which, great expostulations passed between the courts of Vienna and Dresden. There were two small armies that acted separately on the Rhine, under the command of the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Marquis of Bareith ; but they were not able to cover the empire, and another small army, brought together by the Duke of Wirtemberg for the defence of his country, was totally defeated, not only cannon and baggage, but the Duke himself fell into the enemies' hands.

But though the Emperor did, as it were, abandon the empire to the French, he made no great progress in Hungary : the Turks lay upon a defensive, and the season was spent in motions, without either battle or siege : there was still some discourse, but no great probability of peace. Two English ambassadors dying, the one Sir Thomas Hussay, soon after his arrival at Constantinople ; and the other Mr. Harbord, on his way thither ; the Lord Paget, then our ambassador at the Emperor's court, was ordered to go thither to mediate the peace : he found the mediation was, in a great measure, spoiled by the Dutch ambassador, before his arrival ; for he had been prevailed on, by the court of Vienna, to offer the mediation of the Dutch upon a very high scheme. Caminieck, and the Ukrain, and Podolia, with Moldavia, and Valachia, were demanded for Poland ; Transylvania, with the person of Count Tekeli, for the Emperor ; and Achaia and Livadia, as an antemurale to cover the Morea for the Venetians. The court of Vienna, by offering such a project, reckoned the war must go on, which they desired. The ministers of the Porte, who were gained by the French to carry on the war, were glad to see so high a project : they were afraid of tumults, so they spread this project over the whole empire, to shew, on what ignominious terms the mediation was proposed, and by that they justified their going on with the war : but the Lord Paget offered the King's mediation upon another project, which was, that every Prince was to keep what he was then possessed of ; and Caminieck was only demanded to be razed. If this had been offered at first, the Ottoman court durst not have refused it ; the people were become so weary un-

Affairs in  
Hungary.

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der a long and unprosperous war ; but the Vizier suppressed this, and made it still pass among them, that the English pressed the same project that the Dutch had proposed, which was the more easily believed there, because how ignorant soever they were at that court, they knew well what an interest the King of England had in the states : so the war was still carried on there, and Trumbal, who came over to England at this time, told the King, that if, instead of sending embassies, he would send a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean to destroy the French trade, and stop the commerce with Turkey, he would quickly bring that court to other measures, or raise such tumults among them, as would set that empire, and even Constantinople itself, all in a flame.

Affairs in  
Piedmont.

In Piedmont the campaign was opened very late ; and the French were on the defensive : so the Duke of Savoy entered into Dauphiny with an army : and, if he had carried on that attempt with the spirit with which he began it, he had put the affairs of France on that side into great disorder : but he was either ill served or betrayed in it. He sat down before Ambrun, and besieged it in form : so that a place, which he might have carried in three days, cost him some weeks ; and in every step, he made it appear, there was either a great feebleness, or much treachery in his counsels. He made no great progress ; yet the disorder that even this threw that and the neighbouring provinces into, was very great. He was stopped by the small-pox, which saved his honour, as much as it endangered his person : the retreat of his army, when his life was in danger, looked like a due caution. He recovered of the small-pox, but a ferment still remained in his blood, and broke out so often into feverish relapses, that it was generally thought he was poisoned. Many months passed before he was out of danger : so the campaign ended there with considerable losses to the French, but with no great advantage to the Duke. The greatest prejudice the French suffered this year was from the season : they had a very bad harvest, and no vintage in the northern parts. We, in England, had great apprehensions of as bad a harvest, from a very cold and wet summer. Great deluges of rain continued till the very time of reaping ; but, when we were threatened with a famine, it pleased God to send such an extraordinary change



of the season, that we had a very plentiful crop, enough both to serve ourselves and to supply our neighbours, which made us easy at home, and brought in much wealth, for that corn which we were able to spare.

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In the beginning of September, there was an earthquake felt in most places in England; and was at the same time felt in many parts of France, Germany, and the Netherlands. No harm was done by it, though it continued for three or four minutes. I can write nothing of it from my own observation; for it was not sensible in the place where I happened to be at that time; nor can it be determined whether this had any relation to those terrible earthquakes that happened, some months after this, in Sicily and Malta: upon which I cannot enlarge, having seen no other account of them than what was in public gazettes, which represented them as the dreadfulest by much of any that are in history. It was estimated that about one hundred thousand persons perished by them in Sicily. It is scarce to be imagined, that the earthquake, which about the same time destroyed the best part of the chief town in Jamaica, could have any connexion with these in Europe. These were very extraordinary things, which made those, who studied apocalyptic matters, imagine, that the end of the world drew near. It had been happy for us, if such dismal accidents had struck us with a deeper sense of the judgments of God.

A great earthquake.

We were indeed brought to more of an outward face of virtue and sobriety; and the great examples that the King and Queen set the nation, had made some considerable alterations, as to public practices; but we became deeply corrupted in principle. A disbelief of revealed religion, and a profane mocking at the Christian faith, and the mysteries of it, became avowed and scandalous. The Queen, in the King's absence, gave orders to execute the laws against drunkenness, swearing, and the profanation of the Lord's day; and sent directions over England, to all magistrates, to do their duty in executing them; to which the King joined his authority, upon his return to England: yet the reformation of manners, which some zealous men studied to promote, went on but slowly. Many of the inferior magistrates were not only remiss, but very faulty themselves. They did all they could to discourage those who endeavoured to have vice suppressed and punished; and,

A great corruption over England.

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it must be confessed, that the behaviour of many clergymen gave atheists no small advantage : they had taken the oaths and read the prayers for the present government : they observed the orders for the public fasts and thanksgivings ; and yet they shewed, in many places, their aversion to our establishment but too visibly : so that the offence that this gave, in many parts of the nation, was too evident. In some places it broke out in very indecent instances, that were brought into courts of law, and censured. This made many conclude, that the clergy were a sort of men that would swear and pray, even against their consciences, rather than lose their benefices ; and, by consequence, that they were governed by interest, and not by principle. The jacobites grew still to be more and more outrageous, while the clergy seemed to be neutrals in the dispute ; and which was yet the most extraordinary thing in the whole matter, the government itself acted with so much remissness, and so few were inquired after or punished, that those who were employed by the King, behaved themselves in many places, as if they had secret instructions to be heavy upon his best friends, and to be gentle to his enemies. Upon the whole matter, the nation was falling under such a general corruption, both as to morals and principles, and that was so much spread among all sorts of people, that it gave us great apprehensions of heavy judgments from heaven.

A session of  
parliament.

The session of parliament was opened under great disadvantages. The Earl of Marlborough, and some other peers, had been put in the Tower, upon a false accusation of high treason, which was evidently proved to be a conspiracy, designed by some profligate creatures, who fancied that forgeries and false swearing would be as acceptable, and as well rewarded, in this reign, as they had been formerly ; but, till this was detected, the persons accused were kept in prison, and were now only out upon bail : so it was said to be contrary to the nature and freedom of parliaments for prisoners to sit in it. It was confessed, that in times of danger, and such was the former summer, it must be trusted to the discretion of a government, to commit such persons as were suspected ; but, when the danger was over, by our victory at sea, those against whom there lay nothing besides suspicions, ought to have been set at liberty : and this was thought reasonable. There was an association

pretended to be drawn against the government, to which the subscriptions of many lords were set so dexterously, that the lords themselves said, they could not distinguish between their true subscriptions, and those that were forged for them; but the manner of the discovery, with several other circumstances, carried such marks of imposture, that the lords of the council ordered a strict prosecution of all concerned in it, which ended in a full conviction of the forgery: and those who had combined in it, were whipped and pilloried; which, to the reproach of our constitution, is the only punishment that our law has yet provided for such practices. The Lords passed some votes, asserting their privileges, and were offended with the judges for detaining some in prison; though there was no reason nor colour for their displeasure: but where the privilege, or the dignity of peerage is in question, it is not easy to keep the House within bounds.

The debate went off in a bill, that indemnified the ministry for those commitments; but limited them, for the future, by several rules: all which rules were rejected by the Commons. They thought those limitations gave a legal power to commit, in cases where they were observed; whereas they thought the safer way was, to indemnify the ministry, when it was visible they did not commit any but upon a real danger, and not to set them any rules: since, as to the committing of suspected persons, where the danger is real and visible, the public safety must be first looked to, and supersede all particular laws. When this was over, an attempt was made in both houses, for the abjuration of King James: the King himself was more set on it than he had been formerly. It was rejected by the House of Commons; and, though some steps were made in it by the Lords, yet the opposition was so great, that it was let fall.

The affairs at sea occasioned much heat in both houses. The Earl of Nottingham laid before the Lords, upon an address they had made to the King, all the letters that had passed between himself and Russel; with all the orders he had sent him: and he aggravated Russel's errors and neglects very severely. But the House of Commons justified Russel, and gave him thanks over and over again; and remained so fixed in this, that though the Lords then communicated the papers, the Earl of Nottingham had laid

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Jealousies  
of the King's  
ministers.

before them, to the Commons, they would not so much as read them, but renewed their first votes, that justified Russel's fidelity, courage, and conduct.

The King was now possessed against him: for he dismissed him from his service, and put the command of the fleet into the hands of three persons, Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel; the two first were thought so inclinable to King James's interests, that it made some insinuate, that the King was in the hands of those, who intended to betray him to his enemies: for, though no exception lay against Shovel, yet it was said, he was only put with the other two, to give some reputation to the commission, and that he was one against two; so that he could neither hinder nor do any thing. The chief blame of this nomination was thrown on the Earl of Nottingham; and of those, who belonged to his office, many stories were raised and spread about, as if there had been among them, besides a very great remissness in some of the concerns of the government, an actual betraying of all our secrets and counsels. The opinion of this was spread both within and without the kingdom; and most of our confederates were possessed with it. He justified not only himself, but all his under secretaries; both King and Queen continued still to have a good opinion of his fidelity; but they saw some defects in his judgment, with a most violent party heat, that appeared upon all occasions, and even in the smallest matters. The bills for the supply went on with a heavy progress in the House of Commons: those who could not oppose them, yet shewed their ill humour in delaying them, and clogging them with unacceptable clauses all they could. And they continued that wasteful method, of raising money upon remote funds, by which there lay a heavy discount on tallies; so that above a fourth part was, in some of them, to be discounted. The parties of whig and tory appeared almost in every debate, and in every question.

Complaints  
in parlia-  
ment.

The ill humour prevailed most in the House of Lords, where a strong opposition was made to every thing that was proposed for the government. They passed many votes, and made many addresses to the King, which were chiefly designed to load the administration, and to alienate the King from the Dutch. The Commons begun with great complaints of the Admiralty; and then they had the con-

duct in Flanders, particularly in the action at Steenkirk, before them; and they voted some heads of an address relating to those matters: but by a secret management they let the whole thing fall, after they had passed those angry votes. Any thing that the Lords could do, was of less moment, when it was not like to be seconded by the Commons; yet they shewed much ill humour.

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This was chiefly managed by the Marquis of Hallifax, and the Earl of Mulgrave; and they drew in the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was very ill pleased with the credit that some had with the King, and lived in a particular friendship with the Earl of Marlborough; and thought that he was both ungratefully and unjustly persecuted. These lords had the jacobites ready to assist them, in every thing that could embroil matters; a great many whigs, who were discontented and jealous of the ministry, joined with them: they knew that all their murmuring would signify little, unless they could stop a money-bill; and, since it was settled in the House of Commons as a maxim, that the Lords could not make any alterations in the money-bills, when the bill for four shillings in the pound land-tax came up, they put their strength to carry a clause, that the peers should tax themselves. And though, in the way in which this clause was drawn up, it could not be defended, yet they did all that was possible to put a stop to the bill; and with unusual vehemence pressed for a delay, till a committee should be appointed to examine precedents. This the Earl of Mulgrave pressed for many hours, with a force of argument and eloquence, beyond any thing that I had ever heard in that House. He insisted much upon the dignity of peerage; and made this, which was now proposed, to be so main a part of that dignity, that he exhausted all the topics of rhetoric, to convince the Lords, that, if they yielded to this, they divested themselves of their true greatness; and nothing would remain, but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. But, after all the pomp and heat of his oratory, the Lords considered the safety of the nation more than the shadow of a privilege; and so they passed the bill.

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These lords also set on foot a proposition that had never been offered, but when the nation was ready to break out into civil wars; and that was, that a committee of Lords

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and Commons should be appointed to confer together, concerning the state of the nation: this, once begun, would have grown in a very short time to have been a council of state; and they would soon have brought all affairs under their inspection: but this was so strongly opposed, that it was soon let fall.

When the party, that was set against the court, saw they could carry nothing in either house of parliament, then they turned their whole strength against the present parliament, to force a dissolution; and, in order to that, they first loaded it with a name of an ill sound; and, whereas King Charles's long parliament was called the pensioner parliament, they called this the officer's parliament; because many that had commands in the army were of it: and the word that they gave out among the people was, that we were to be governed by a standing army and a standing parliament. They tried to carry a bill, that rendered all members of the House of Commons incapable of places of trust or profit: so that every member that accepted a place, should be expelled the House, and be incapable of being chosen again, to sit in the current of parliament. The truth was, it came to be observed, that some got credit by opposing the government, and that, to silence them, they were preferred; and then they changed their note, and were as ready to flatter, as before to find fault. This gave a specious colour to those, who charged the court with designs of corrupting members, or at least of stopping their mouths by places and pensions. When this bill was set on, it went through the House of Commons with little or no difficulty: those who were in places had not strength and credit to make great opposition to it, they being the persons concerned, and looked on as parties; and those who had no places had not the courage to oppose it: for in them it would have looked as an art to recommend themselves to one. So the bill passed in the House of Commons, but it was rejected by the Lords; since it seemed to establish an opposition between the crown and the people, as if those, who were employed by the one, could not be trusted by the other.

A bill to exclude members of parliament from places.

Another for a triennial parliament.

When this failed, another attempt was made in the House of Lords, in a bill that was offered, enacting, that a session of parliament should be held every year, and a new parliament be summoned every third year, and that the

present parliament should be dissolved within a limited time. The statutes for annual parliaments in King Edward the First, and King Edward the Third's time, are well known. But it is a question, whether the supposition "if need be" falls upon the whole act, or only upon those words, "or oftener." It is certain these acts were never observed, and the non-observance of them was never complained of as a grievance: nor did the famous act, in King Charles the First's time, carry the necessity of holding a session further than once in three years. Anciently, considering the haste and hurry in which parliaments sat, an annual parliament might be no great inconvenience to the nation: but by reason of the slow methods of sessions now, an annual parliament in times of peace would become a very insupportable grievance. A parliament of a long continuance seemed to be very dangerous, either to the crown or to the nation: if the conjuncture, and their proceedings, gave them much credit, they might grow very uneasy to the crown, as happened in King Charles the First's time; or, in another situation of affairs, they might be so practised upon by the court, that they might give all the money, and all the liberties of England up, when they were to have a large share of the money, and were to be made the instruments of tyranny; as it was like to have been in King Charles the Second's time. It was likewise hoped, that frequent parliaments would put an end to the great expense candidates put themselves to in elections; and that it would oblige the members to behave themselves so well, both with relation to the public, and in their private deportment, as to recommend them to their electors at three years' end: whereas, when a parliament was to sit many years, members covered with privileges were apt to take great liberties, forgot that they represented others, and took care only of themselves. So it was thought, that England would have a truer representative, when it was chosen anew every third year, than when it run on to the end of a reign. All that was objected against this was, that frequent elections would make the freeholders proud and insolent, when they knew that applications must be made to them at the end of three years: this would establish a faction in every body of men, that had a right to an election; and whereas now an election put men to a great charge all

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at once, then the charge must be perpetual all the three years, in laying in for a new election, when it was known how soon it must come round : and as for the dissolution of the present parliament, some were for leaving it to the general triennial clause, that it might still sit three years : they thought that, during so critical a war, as that in which we were now engaged, it was not advisable to venture on a new election ; since we had so many among us, who were so ill effected to the present establishment : yet it was said, this parliament had already sat three years ; and therefore, it was not consistent with the general reason of the act, to let it continue longer. So the bill passed in the House of Lords : and though a bill from them, dissolving a parliament, struck only at the House of Commons, the Lords being still the same men—so that, upon that single account, many thought they would have rejected it—yet they also passed it, and fixed their own dissolution to the 25th of March in the next year : so that they reserved another session to themselves. The King let the bill lie for some time on the table, so that men's eyes and expectations were much fixed on the issue of it : but, in conclusion, he refused to pass it : so the session ended in ill humour. The rejecting a bill, though an unquestionable right of the crown, has been so seldom practised, that the two houses are apt to think it a hardship, when there is a bill denied.

A change in  
the minis-  
try.

But to soften the distast this might otherwise give, the King made considerable alterations in his ministry : all people were now grown weary of the great seal's being in commission : it made the proceedings in chancery to be both more dilatory, and more expensive ; and there were such exceptions made to the decrees of the commissioners, that appeals were brought against most of them, and frequently they were reversed. Sir John Somers had now got great reputation, both in his post of attorney-general and in the House of Commons ; so the King gave him the great seal : he was very learned in his own profession, with a great deal more learning in other professions, in divinity, philosophy, and history : he had a great capacity for business, with an extraordinary temper ; for he was fair and gentle, perhaps to a fault, considering his post ; so that he had all the patience and softness, as well as the justice and equity, becoming a great magistrate. He had always agreed



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in his notions with the whigs, and had studied to bring them to better thoughts of the King, and to a greater confidence in him. Trenchard was made secretary of state, he had been engaged far with the Duke of Monmouth, as was told formerly: he got out of England, and lived some years beyond sea, and had a right understanding of affairs abroad: he was a calm and sedate man, and was much more moderate than could have been expected, since he was a leading man in a party: he had too great a regard to the stars, and too little to religion. The bringing these men into those posts was ascribed chiefly to the great credit the Earl of Sunderland had gained with the King; he had now got into his confidence, and declared openly for the whigs: these advancements had a great effect on the whole party, and brought them to a much better opinion of the King. A young man, Mr. Montague, a branch of the Earl of Manchester's family, began to make a great figure in the House of Commons: he was a commissioner of the Treasury, and soon after made chancellor of the Exchequer: he had great vivacity and clearness, both of thought and expression: his spirit was at first turned to wit and poetry, which he continued still to encourage in others when he applied himself to more important business. He came to have great notions, with relation to all the concerns of the Treasury, and of the public funds, and brought those matters into new and better methods: he shewed the error of giving money upon remote funds at a vast discount, and with great premiums to raise loans upon them, which occasioned a great outcry at the sums that were given, at the same time that they were much shrunk before they produced the money that was expected from them: so he pressed the King to insist on this as a maxim, to have all the money for the service of a year to be raised within that year.

But as the employing these men had a very good effect on the King's affairs, so a party came to be now formed that studied to cross and defeat every thing; this was led by Seymour and Musgrave: the last was a gentleman of a noble family in Cumberland, whose life had been regular, and his deportment grave: he had lost a place in King James's time; for though he was always a high tory, yet he would not comply with his designs: he had indeed contributed much to increase his revenue, and to offer him more

Factions  
formed  
against the  
court.

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than he asked; yet he would not go into the taking off the tests. Upon the Revolution, the place out of which he had been turned, was given to a man that had a good share of merit in that great event. This alienated him from the King; and he, being a man of good judgment, and of great experience, came to be considered at the head of the party, in which he found his account so well, that no offers that were made him could ever bring him over to the King's interests. Upon many critical occasions, he gave up some important points, for which the King found it necessary to pay him very liberally.

But the party of the tories was too inconsiderable to have raised a great opposition, if a body of whigs had not joined with them: some of these had such republican notions, that they were much set against the prerogative; and they thought the King was become too stiff in maintaining it: others were offended, because they were not considered nor preferred as they thought they deserved. The chief of these were Mr. Paul Foley and Mr. Harley: the first of these was a younger son of one, who from mean beginnings had, by iron works, raised one of the greatest estates that had been in England in our time. He was a learned, though not a practising lawyer, and was a man of virtue and good principles, but morose and wilful; and he had the affectation of passing for a great patriot, by his constant finding fault with the government, and venting an ill humour, and a bad opinion of the court. Harley was a man of a noble family, and very eminently learned, much turned to politics, and of a restless ambition: he was a man of great industry and application; and knew forms and the records of parliament so well, that he was capable both of lengthening out, and of perplexing debates: nothing could answer his aspiring temper, so he and Foley joined with the tories to create jealousies and raise an opposition: they soon grew to be able to delay matters long, and set on foot some very uneasy things that were popular—such as the bill against parliament men being in places, and that for dissolving the parliament, and for having a new one every third year.

That which gave them much strength was the King's cold and reserved way: he took no pains to oblige those that came to him, nor was he easy of access. He lived out of

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town at Kensington; and his chief confidants were Dutch. He took no notice of the clergy, and seemed to have little concern in the matters of the church, or of religion; and at this time some atheists and deists, as well as Socinians, were publishing books against religion in general, and more particularly against the mysteries of our faith. These expressed great zeal for the government; which gave a handle to those who were waiting for all advantages, and were careful of increasing and improving them, to spread it all over the nation, that the King and those about him had no regard to religion, nor to the church of England.

But now I go on to the transactions of this summer. The King had, in his speech to the parliament, told them, he intended to land a considerable army in France this year: so after the session, orders were given for hiring a fleet for transports, with so great a train of artillery, that it would have served an army of forty thousand men. This was very acceptable to the whole nation, who loved an active war, and were very uneasy to see so much money paid, and so little done with it; but all this went off without any effect. The French had attempted this winter the siege of Rhinfeldt, a place of no great consequence: but it lay upon the Rhine, not far from Coblentz; and by it Franconia would have been open to them. They could not cut off the communication by the Rhine, so that fresh supplies of men and provisions were every day sent to them, by the care of the Landgrave of Hesse, who managed the matter with such success, that, after a fortnight's stay before it, the French were forced to raise the siege; which was a repulse so seldom given them, that upon it some said, they were then sensible that Louvoy was dead. The French had also made another attempt upon Huy, of a shorter continuance, but with the like success. The campaign was opened with great pomp in Flanders; for the King of France came thither in person, accompanied by the ladies of the court, which appeared the more ridiculous, since there was no queen at the head of them; unless Madame de Maintenon was to be taken for one, to whom respects were indeed paid with more submission than is commonly done to queens; so that what might be wanting in the outward ceremony was more than balanced by the real authority that she had. It was given out that the King of

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France, after he had amused the King for some days, intended to have turned either to Brussels on the one hand, or to Liege on the other. In the mean while, the French were working on the Dutch, by their secret practices, to make them hearken to a separate peace; and the ill humour that had appeared in the parliament of England against them, was an argument much made use of to convince them how little ground they had to trust to their alliance with England; so that as French practices had raised this ill humour among us, they made now this use of it to break our mutual confidence, and by consequence our alliance with the states. The King made great haste, and brought his army much sooner together than the French expected: he encamped at Park near Louvain; by which he broke all the French measures; for he lay equally well posted to relieve Brussels or Liege. It was grown the more necessary to take care of Liege; because, though the bishop was true to the allies, yet there was a faction formed among the capitulators, to offer themselves to the French; but the garrison adhered to the bishop: and now, when so great an army lay near them, they broke the measures which that faction had taken. The French King, seeing that the practices of treachery, on which he chiefly relied, succeeded so ill, resolved not to venture himself in any dangerous enterprise; so he and the ladies went back to Versailles.

Affairs in  
the empire.

The Dauphin, with a great part of the army, was sent to make head against the Germans, who had brought an army together, commanded by the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Prince of Baden: the Germans moved slowly, and were retarded by some disputes about the command, so that the French came on to Heidelberg before they were ready to cover it. The town could make no long resistance, but it was too soon abandoned by a timorous governor. The French were not able to hinder the conjunction of the Germans, though they endeavoured it; they advanced towards them; and though the Dauphin was much superior in numbers, and studied to force them to action, yet they kept close, and he did not think fit to attack them in their camp. The French raised great contributions in the Wirtemberg, but no action happened on the Rhine all this campaign: the French had better success

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and less opposition in Catalonia; they took Roses, and advanced to Barcelona, expecting their fleet, which was to have bombarded it from the sea, while their army attacked it by land. This put all Spain under a great consternation: the design of this invasion was, to force them to treat of a separate peace; while they felt themselves so vigorously attacked, and saw that they were in no condition to resist.

Affairs in Piedmont gave them a seasonable relief: the Duke of Savoy's motions were so slow, that it seemed, both sides were resolved to lie upon the defensive. The French were very weak there, and they expected to be as weakly opposed. But in the end of July, the Duke began to move; and he obliged Catinat to retire with his small army, having made him quit some of his posts: and then he formed the siege of St. Bridget, a fort that lay above Pignerol, and, as was believed, might command it. After twelve days' siege, the French abandoned it, and he was master of it: but he was not furnished for undertaking the siege of Pignerol; and so the campaign went off in marches and countermarches: but in the end of it, Catinat, having increased his army by some detachments, came up to the Duke of Savoy. They engaged at Orbasson, where the honour of the action, but with that the greatest loss, fell to the French; for, though they carried it by their numbers, their bodies being less spent and fuller, yet the resistance that was made was such, that the Duke of Savoy gained more in his reputation than he suffered by the loss of the day.

The two armies lay long in Flanders, watching one another's motions, without coming to action. In July, Luxemburgh went to besiege Huy, and carried it in two or three days. The King moved that way, on design either to raise the siege, or to force a battle. Those in Huy did not give him time to come to their relief; and Luxemburgh made a feint towards Liege, which obliged the King to send some battalions to reinforce the garrison of that place. He had also sent another great detachment, commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg, to force the French lines, and to put their country under contribution; which he executed with great success, and raised above four millions. Luxemburgh thought this was an advantage not to be lost; so that,

Affairs in  
Piedmont.The battle  
of Landen.

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as soon as he had received orders from the King of France to attack the King in his camp, he came up to him near Landen, upon the river Gitte. He was about double the King's number, chiefly in horse. The King might have secured himself from all attacks, by passing the river; and his conduct, in not doing it, was much censured, considering his strength and the enemy's. He chose rather to stay for them, but sent away the baggage and heavy cannon to Mechlin; and spent the whole night in planting batteries, and casting up retrenchments. On the 29th of July, the French began their attack, early in the morning, and came on with great resolution, though the King's cannon did great execution: they were beat off, with the loss of many officers, in several attacks; yet they came still on with fresh bodies; till at last, after an action of seven or eight hours' continuance, they broke through, in a place where there was such a body of German and Spanish horse, that the army on no side was thought less in danger. These troops gave way; and so the French carried the honour of the day, and were masters both of the King's camp and cannon: but the King passed the river, and cut the bridges, and lay secure out of reach. He had supported the whole action with so much courage, and so true a judgment, that it was thought, he got more honour that day, than even when he triumphed at the Boyne. He charged himself in several places: many were shot round about him, with the enemies' cannon: one musket-shot carried away part of his scarf, and another went through his hat, without doing him any harm. The French lost so many men, and suffered so much, in the several onsets they had made, that they were not able to pursue a victory, which cost them so dear. We lost in all, about seven thousand: and among these, there was scarce an officer of note; only the Count de Solms had his leg shot off by a cannon ball, of which he died in a few hours. By all the accounts that came from France, it appeared, that the French had lost double the number, with a vastly greater proportion of officers. The King's behaviour, during the battle, and in the retreat, was much magnified by the enemy, as well as by his own side. The King of France was reported to have said upon it, that Luxemburgh's behaviour was like the Prince of Condé's, but the King's like M. Turenne's. His army was, in a few days, as strong as ever,

by recalling the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the battalions he had sent to Liege, and some other bodies that he drew out of garrisons : and the rest of the campaign passed over, without any other action ; only at the end of it, after the King had left the army, Charleroy was besieged by the French : the country about it had been so eat up, that it was not possible to subsist an army, that might have been brought to relieve it : the garrison made a brave resistance, and held out a month ; but it was taken at last.

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Charleroy  
taken by the  
French.

Thus the French triumphed every where ; but their successes were more than balanced by two bad harvests, that came successively one after another : they had also suffered much in their vintage, so that they had neither bread nor wine. Great diligence was used to bring in corn from all parts ; and strict orders were given by that court for regulating the price of it, and for furnishing their markets ; there was also a liberal distribution ordered by that King for the relief of the poor. But misery will be misery still, after all possible care to alleviate it : great multitudes perished for want, and the whole kingdom fell into an extreme poverty ; so that all the pomp of their victories could not make them easy at home. They tried all possible methods for bringing about a general peace ; or, if that failed, for a separate peace with some of the confederates : but there was no disposition in any of them to hearken to it ; nor could they engage the northern crowns to offer their mediation. Some steps were indeed made, for they offered to acknowledge the present government of England ; but in all other points their demands were still so high, that there was no prospect of a just peace till their affairs should have brought them to an humbler posture.

Attempts  
made for a  
peace.

But while the campaign, in all its scenes, was thus unequal and various, the French, though much weaker at sea, were the most successful there ; and though we had superior strength, we were very unprosperous, and by our ill conduct we lost much both in our honour and interest on that element. The great difficulty that the French were under in their marine was, by reason of their two great ports, Brest and Toulon ; and from the bringing their fleets together, and sending them back again. The danger they ran in that, and the delays that it put them under, were the chief occasions of their losses last year ; but these were in

Our affairs  
at sea.

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a great measure made up to them now. We were sending a very rich fleet of merchant ships to the Mediterranean, which was valued at many millions : some of these had lain ready a year and a half, waiting for a convoy, but were still put off by new delays ; nor could they obtain one after Russel's victory, though we were then masters at sea. They were promised a great one in winter. The number of the merchant ships did still increase ; so that the convoy, which was at first designed, was not thought equal to the riches of the fleet, and to the danger they might run by ships that might be sent from Toulon to intercept them. The court of France was watching this carefully ; a spy among the jacobites gave advice that certain persons sent from Scotland to France to shew with how small a force they might make themselves masters of that kingdom, had hopes given them for some time : upon which, several military men went to Lancashire and Northumberland, to see what could be expected from thence if commotions should happen in Scotland. But, in February, the French said they could not do what was expected : and the Scotch agents were told, that they were obliged to look after the Smyrna fleet ; which they reckoned might be of more consequence, than even the carrying Scotland could be. The fleet was ready in February, but new excuses were again made ; for it was said, the convoy must be increased to twenty men of war : Rook was to command it : a new delay was likewise put in, on the pretence of staying for advice from Toulon, whether the squadron that was laid up there, was to lie in the Mediterranean this year, or to come about to Brest. The merchants were very uneasy under those delays ; since the charge was like to eat up the profit of the voyage : but no dispatch could be had ; and very probable reasons were offered to justify every new retardment. The French fleet had gone early out of Toulon, on design to have destroyed the Spanish fleet, which lay in the Bay of Puzzolo ; but they lay so safe there, that the French saw they could not succeed in any attempt upon them : afterwards they stood off to the coast of Catalonia, to assist their army, which was making some conquests there : yet these were only feints to amuse and to cover their true design. The fleet at Brest sailed away from thence so suddenly, that they were neither completely manned, nor vict-



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ualled; and they came to Lagos Bay in Algarve. Tenders were sent after them, with the necessary complement of men and provisions: this sudden and unprovided motion of the French fleet, looked as if some secret advice had been sent from England, acquainting them with our designs: but at the secretary's office, not only there was no intelligence concerning their fleet, but when a ship came in, that brought the news of their having sailed from Brest, they were not believed. Our main fleet sailed out into the sea for some leagues with Rook, and the merchant ships; and when they thought they were out of danger, they came back. Rook was unhappy in that, which, upon any other occasion, would have been a great happiness: he had a fair and a strong gale of wind; so that no advice sent after him could overtake him: nor did he meet with any ships at sea, that could give him notice of the danger that lay before him. He doubled the Cape of St. Vincent, and had almost fallen in with the French fleet, before he was aware of it. He dreamed of no danger, but from the Toulon squadron, till he took a fire-ship; the captain whereof endeavoured to deceive him, by a false story, as if there had been only fifteen men of war lying at Lagos, that intended to join D'Estrees. The merchants were for going on, and believed the information: they were confirmed in this, by the disorder the French seemed to be in; for they were cutting their cables, and drawing near the shore. The truth was, when they saw Rook's fleet, they apprehended, by their numbers, that the whole fleet of England was coming towards them; and indeed had they come so far with them, here was an occasion offered, which perhaps may not be found again in an age, of destroying their whole strength at sea. But as the French soon perceived their error, and were forming themselves into a line, Rook saw his error likewise, and stood out to sea, while the merchants fled, as their fears drove them; a great many of them sticking still close to him: others sailed to Cadiz, and some got to Gibraltar; and instead of pursuing their voyage, put in there: some ships were burned or sunk, and a very small number was taken by the French. They did not pursue Rook, but let him sail away to the Madeiras; and from thence he came, first to Kinsale, and then into England. The French tried what they could do upon Cadiz, but found that it was not practicable. They came next

The Turkey  
fleet in great  
danger.

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to Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, to prevent their falling into their hands: from thence they sailed along the coast of Spain, and burned some English and Dutch ships, that were lying at Malaga, Alicant, and in some other places. They hoped to have destroyed the Spanish fleet; but they put in at Port Mahon, where they were safe. At length, after a very glorious campaign, the French came back to Toulon. It is certain, if Tourville had made use of all his advantages, and had executed the design, as well as it was projected, he might have done us much mischief: few of our men of war, or merchantmen, could have got out of his hands. The loss fell heaviest on the Dutch; the voyage was quite lost; and the disgrace of it was visible to the whole world, and very sensible to the trading part of the nation.

Great jealousies of the King's ministry.

The appearances were such, that it was generally surmised our counsels were betrayed: the secretary that attended on the admirals was much suspected, and charged with many things: but the suspicions rose high, even as to the secretary of state's office. It was said, that our fleet was kept in port till the French were laid in their way, and was then ordered to sail that it might fall into their hands. Many particulars were laid together, which had such colours, that it was not to be wondered at, if they created jealousy, especially in minds sufficiently prepared for it. Upon inquiry it appeared, that several of those, who for the last two years were put in the subaltern employments through the kingdom, did, upon many occasions, shew a disaffection to the government, and talked and acted like enemies. Our want of intelligence of the motions of the French, while they seemed to know every thing that we either did, or designed to do, cast a heavy reproach upon our ministers, who were now broke so in pieces, that they acted without union or concert. Every one studied to justify himself, and to throw the blame on others: a good share of this was cast on the Earl of Nottingham: the Marquis of Caermarthen was much suspected. The Earl of Rochester began now to have great credit with the Queen; and seemed to be so violently set against the whigs, that they looked for dreadful things from him if he came again to govern; for, being naturally warm, and apt to heat himself in company, he broke out into sallies which were

carried about, and began to create jealousies, even of the Queen herself.

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I was in some sort answerable for this: for, when the Queen came into England, she was so possessed against him, that he tried all his friends and interest in the court, to be admitted to clear himself, and to recover her favour, but all in vain; for they found her so alienated from him, that no person would undertake it. Upon that he addressed himself to me: I thought, that if he came into the service of the government, his relation to the Queen would make him firm and zealous for it; and I served him so effectually, that the Queen laid aside all her resentments, and admitted him, by degrees, into a high measure of favour and confidence. I quickly saw my error; and he took pains to convince me effectually of it; for he was no sooner possessed of her favour, than he went into an interest very different from what I believed he would have pursued. He talked against all favour to dissenters, and for setting up the notions of persecution and violence, which he had so much promoted in King Charles's time, and professed himself an enemy to the present bishops, and to the methods they were taking of preaching and visiting their dioceses; of obliging the clergy to attend more carefully to their functions; and of endeavouring to gain the dissenters by gentle and calm methods.

The King had left the matters of the church wholly in the Queen's hands: he found he could not resist importunities, which were not only vexatious to him, but had drawn preferments from him, which he came soon to see were ill bestowed; so he devolved that care to the Queen, which she managed with strict and religious prudence. She declared openly against the preferring of those who put in for themselves; and took care to inform herself particularly of the merits of such of the clergy, as were not so much known at court, nor using any methods to get themselves recommended; so that we had reason to hope, that, if this course should be long continued, it would produce a great change in the church, and in the temper of the clergy. She consulted chiefly with the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom she favoured and supported in a most particular manner. She saw what need there was of it; for a party was formed against him, who set themselves to censure

The state of  
the clergy  
and church.

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every thing he did. It was a melancholy thing to consider, that, though we never saw an archbishop before him apply himself so entirely, without partiality or bias, to all the concerns of the church and religion, as he did; and that the Queen's heart was set on promoting them, yet such an evil spirit should seem to be let loose upon the clergy. They complained of every thing that was done, if it was not in their own way; and the Archbishop bore the blame of all. He did not enter into any close correspondence, or the concerting measures with the ministry, but lived much abstracted from them; so they studied to depress him all they could. This made a great impression upon him: he grew very uneasy in his great post. We were all soon convinced, that there was a sort of clergymen among us, that would never be satisfied as long as the toleration was continued; and they seemed resolved to give it out that the church was in danger, till a prosecution of dissenters should be again set on foot; nor could they look at a man with patience, or speak of him with temper, who did not agree with them in these things. The bishops fell under the displeasure of the whigs by the methods they took, not only of protecting, but of preferring some of these men, hoping by that means both to have softened them and their friends: but they took their preferments as the rewards that they supposed were due to their merit; and they employed the credit and authority which their preferments brought them wholly against those to whom they owed them. The whigs were much turned against the King; and were not pleased with those who had left them, when they were so violent in the beginning of this reign; and it was a hard thing, in such a divided time, to resolve to be of no party, since men of that temper are pushed at by many, and protected by no side. Of this we had many instances at that time; and I myself had some very sensible ones; but they are too inconsiderable to be mentioned. In this bad state we were, when a session of parliament came on with great apprehensions, occasioned by our ill success, and by the King's temper, which he could no way constrain, or render more complaisant, but chiefly from the disposition of men's minds, which was practised on with great industry, by the enemies of the government, who were driving on jealousies daily.

A parliament had been summoned in Ireland by the Lord Sidney: but they met full of discontent, and were disposed to find fault with every thing. And there was too much matter to work upon: for the Lord Lieutenant was apt to excuse or justify those, who had the address to insinuate themselves into his favour: so that they were dismissed, before they brought their bills to perfection. The English in Ireland thought the government favoured the Irish too much: some said, this was the effect of bribery; whereas, others thought, it was necessary to keep them safe from the persecutions of the English, who hated them, and were much sharpened against them. The protecting the Irish was indeed in some sort necessary, to keep them from breaking out, or from running over to the French: but it was very plain, that the Irish were Irish still, enemies to the English nation, and to the present government: so that all kindness shewed them, beyond what was due in strict justice, was the cherishing an inveterate enemy. There were also great complaints of an ill administration, chiefly in the revenue, in the pay of the army, and in the embezzling of stores. Of these, much noise was made in England, which drew addresses from both Houses of Parliament to the King, which were very invidiously penned: every particular being severely aggravated. So the King called back the Lord Sidney, and put the government of Ireland into three lords justices; Lord Capel, brother to the Earl of Essex, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb. When they were sent from court, the Queen did very earnestly recommend to their care, the reforming of many disorders that were prevailing in that kingdom; for, neither had the late destructive war, out of which they were but beginning to recover themselves, nor their poverty, produced those effects, that might have been well expected.

The state of Ireland leads me to insert here a very particular instance of the Queen's pious care, in the disposing of bishopricks: Lord Sidney was so far engaged in the interest of a great family of Ireland, that he was too easily wrought on, to recommend a branch of it to a vacant see. The representation was made with an undue character of the person: so the Queen granted it. But when she understood, that he lay under a very bad character, she wrote a letter, in her own hand, to Lord Sidney, letting him know

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Ireland.

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strictness  
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what she had heard, and ordered him to call for six Irish bishops, whom she named to him, and to require them to certify to her their opinion of that person: they all agreed, that he laboured under an ill fame; and, till that was examined into, they did not think it proper to promote him; so that matter was let fall. I do not name the person, for I intend not to leave a blemish on him: but set this down as an example, fit to be imitated by Christian princes.

Another effect of the Queen's pious care of the souls of her people was finished this year, after it had been much opposed, and long stopped. Mr. Blair, a very worthy man, came over from Virginia, with a proposition for erecting a college there. In order to which, he had set on foot a voluntary subscription, which arose to a great sum; and he found out some branches of the revenue there, that went all into private hands, without being brought into any public account, with which a free-school and college might be well endowed. The English born there were, as he said, capable of every thing, if they were provided with the means of a good education; and a foundation of this kind in Virginia, that lay in the middle, between our southern and northern plantations, might be a common nursery to them all; and put the people born there, in a way of further improvement. Those concerned in the management of the plantations, had made such advantages of those particulars, out of which the endowment was to be raised, that all possible objections were made to the project, as a design that would take our planters off from their mechanical employments, and make them grow too knowing, to be obedient and submissive. The Queen was so well pleased with the design, as apprehending the very good effects it might have, that no objection against it could move her: she hoped, it might be a means of improving her own people, and of preparing some to propagate the gospel among the natives; and therefore, as she espoused the matter with a particular zeal, so the King did very readily concur with her in it. The endowment was fixed, and the patent was passed for the college, called, from the founders, the William and Mary College.

Affairs in  
Scotland.

Affairs in Scotland grew more and more out of joint. Many whom the King had trusted in the ministry there, were thought enemies to him and his government; and

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some took so little care to conceal their inclinations, that, when an invasion was looked for, they seemed resolved to join in it. They were taken out of a plot, which was managed by persuading many to take oaths to the government, on design to betray it; and were now trusted with the most important posts. The presbyterians began to see their error, in driving matters so far, and in provoking the King so much; and they seemed desirous to recover his favour, and to manage their matters with more temper. The King came likewise to see, that he had been a little too sudden in trusting some, who did not deserve his confidence. Duke Hamilton had for some years withdrawn from business; but he was now prevailed with to return to council. Many letters were intercepted between France and Scotland: in those from Scotland, the easiness of engaging that nation was often repeated, if no time were lost; it seemed therefore necessary to bring that kingdom into a better state.

A session of parliament was held there, to which Duke Hamilton was sent as the King's commissioner; the supplies that were asked were granted; and now the whole presbyterian party was again entire in the King's interest; the matters of the church were brought to more temper, than was expected: the episcopal clergy had more moderate terms offered them; they were only required to make an address to the general assembly, offering to subscribe to a confession of faith, and to acknowledge presbytery to be the only government of that church, with a promise to submit to it; upon which, within a fortnight after they did that, if no matter of scandal was objected to them, the assembly was either to receive them into the government of the church; or, if they could not be brought to that, the King was to take them into his protection, and maintain them in their churches, without any dependance on the presbytery. This was a strain of moderation that the presbyterians were not easily brought to; a subscription that owned presbytery to be the only legal government of that church, without owning any divine right in it, was far below their usual pretensions. And this act vested the King with an authority, very like that which they were wont to condemn as Erastianism. Another act was also passed, requiring all in any office in church or state, to

A session of  
parliament  
there.

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take, besides the oath of allegiance, a declaration called the assurance, owning the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful sovereigns, and promising fidelity to them against King James, and all his adherents. The council was also empowered to tender these, as they should see cause for it, and to fine and imprison such as should refuse them. When the session was near an end, Nevil Payne was brought before the parliament, to be examined, upon the many letters that had been intercepted. There was a full evidence against him in many of his own letters; but he sent word to several of the lords, in particular to Duke Hamilton, that as long as his life was his own, he would accuse none: but he was resolved he would not die; and he could discover enough to deserve his pardon. This struck such terror into many of them, whose sons or near relations had been concerned with him, that he moving for a delay, on pretence of some witnesses that were not then at hand, a time was given him beyond the continuance of the session; so he escaped, and that inquiry was stifled: the session ended calmly. But the King seemed to have forgot Scotland so entirely, that he let three months go over, before he took notice of any of their petitions: and, though he had asked, and had supplies for an augmentation of forces; and many had been gained to consent to the tax, by the hope of commissions in the troops, that were to be levied; yet, the King did not raise any new ones, but raised the supply, and applied it to other uses: this began again to raise an ill humour, that had been almost quite laid down, in the whole course of this session, which was thought a reconciling one. The clergy let the day prefixed, for making their submission to the assembly, slip, and did not take the oaths; so they could claim no benefit by the act, that had been carried in their favour, not without some difficulty. And the law, that was intended to save them, did now expose them to ruin; since by it, they, not taking the oaths, had lost their legal rights to their benefices. Yet they were suffered to continue in them, and were put in hope, that the King would protect them, though it was now against law. They were also made to believe, that the King did not desire that they should take the oaths, or make any submission to presbytery; and it is certain, that no public



signification of the King's mind was made to them; so they were easily imposed on by surmises and whispers; upon this the distractions grew up afresh. Many concluded there, as well as in England, that the King's heart led him still to court his enemies, even after all the manifest reasons he had to conclude, that the steps they made towards him were only feigned submissions, to gain such a confidence, as might put it in their power to deliver him up.

The Earl of Middleton went over to France in the beginning of this year; and it was believed, he was sent by a great body among us, with a proposition, which, had he had the assurance to have made, and they the wisdom to have accepted, might have much increased our factions and jealousies. It was, that King James should offer to resign his title in favour of his son, and likewise to send him to be bred in England, under the direction of a parliament, till he should be of age; but I could never hear that he ventured on this advice; in another he succeeded better. When King James thought the invasion from Normandy, the former year, was so well laid, that he seemed not to apprehend it could miscarry, he had prepared a declaration, of which some copies came over. He promised nothing in it, and pardoned nobody by it; but he spoke in the style of a conqueror who thought he was master, and therefore would limit himself by no promises, but such as were conceived in general words, which might be afterwards expounded at pleasure. This was much blamed, even by his own party; who thought that they themselves were not enough secured by so loose a declaration: so the Earl of Middleton, upon his going over, procured one of another strain; which, as far as words could go, gave all content: for he promised every thing, and pardoned all persons. His party got this into their hands. I saw a copy of it, and they waited for a fit occasion to publish it to the nation.

We were also at this time alarmed with a negotiation, that the court of France was setting on foot at Madrid: they offered to restore to the crown of Spain all that had been taken from it, since the peace of Munster, on condition that the Duke of Anjou should be declared the heir of that crown, in default of issue by the King. The grandees of Spain, who are bred up to a disregard and contempt of all the world besides themselves, were inclinable to enter-

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The Earl of  
Middleton  
went to  
France.

The Duke of  
Anjou offer-  
ed to the  
Spaniards.

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tain this proposition ; though they saw, that by so doing, they must lose the house of Austria, the Elector of Bavaria, and many of their other allies ; but the King himself, weak as he was, stood firm and intractable ; and seemed to be as much set on watching their conduct, as a man of his low genius could possibly be. He resolved to adhere to the alliance, and to carry on the war ; though he could do little more than barely resolve on it. The Spaniards thought of nothing but their intrigues at Madrid, and for the management of the war, and all their affairs, they left the care of that to their stars, and to their allies.

The Duke  
of Shrews-  
bury is again  
made secre-  
tary of state.

The King came over to England in November ; he saw the necessity of changing both his measures and his ministers ; he expressed his dislike of the whole conduct at sea ; and named Russel for the command of the fleet next year. He dismissed the Earl of Nottingham, and would immediately have brought the Earl of Shrewsbury again into the ministry ; but, when that Lord came to him, he thought the King's inclinations were still the same that they had been for some years, and that the turn, which he was now making, was not from choice, but force ; so that went off ; and the Earl of Shrewsbury went into the country : yet the King soon after sent for him, and gave him such assurances, that he was again made secretary of state, to the general satisfaction of the whigs : but the person that had the King's confidence to the highest degree, was the Earl of Sunderland ; who, by his long experience, and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him, than any Englishman ever had. He had brought the King to this change of councils, by the prospect he gave him of the ill-condition his affairs were in, if he did not entirely both trust and satisfy those, who, in the present conjuncture, were the only party, that both could and would support him. It was said, that the true secret of this change of measures was, that the Tories signified to the King plainly, that they could carry on the war no longer, and that therefore he must accept of such a peace as could be had. This was the most pernicious thing that could be thought on, and the most contrary to the King's notions and designs ; but they being positive, he was forced to change hands, and to turn to the other party ; so the whigs were now in favour again, and every

thing was done that was like to put them in good humour. The commission of the lieutenancy for the city of London, on which they had set their hearts, much more perhaps than it deserved, was so altered, that the whigs were the superior number; and all other commissions over England were much changed. They were also brought into many places of trust and profit; so that the King put his affairs chiefly into their hands: yet so, that no tory, who had expressed zeal or affection for the government, was turned out. Upon this the whigs expressed new zeal and confidence in the King. All the money that was asked for the next year's expense, was granted very readily.

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Among other funds that were created, one was for constituting a bank, which occasioned great debates. Some thought a bank would grow to be a monopoly: all the money of England would come into their hands; and they would, in a few years, become the masters of the stock and wealth of the nation. Others argued for it: that the credit it would have, must increase trade and the circulation of money, at least in bank notes. It was visible, that all the enemies of the government set themselves against it, with such a vehemence of zeal, that this alone convinced all people, that they saw the strength that our affairs would receive from it. I heard the Dutch often reckon up the great advantages they had from their banks; and they concluded that, as long as England continued jealous of the government, a bank could never be settled among us, nor gain credit enough to support itself; and upon that, they judged that the superiority in trade must still lie on their side. This, with all the other remote funds that were created, had another good effect: it engaged all those, who were concerned in them, to be, upon the account of their own interest, zealous for maintaining the government; since it was not to be doubted, but that a revolution would have swept all these away. The advantages that the King, and all concerned in tallies, had from the bank, were soon so sensibly felt, that all people saw into the secret reasons that made the enemies of the constitution set themselves with so much earnestness against it.

A bank  
erected.

The inquiry into the conduct at sea, particularly with relation to the Smyrna fleet, took up much time, and held long. Great exceptions were taken to the many delays, by

The conduct  
of the fleet  
examined.

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which it seemed a train was laid, that they should not get out of our ports, till the French were ready to lie in their way, and intercept them. Our want of intelligence was much complained of: the instructions that the admirals, who commanded the fleet, had received from the cabinet council, were thought ill given, and yet worse executed; their orders seemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective; nor had they shewed any zeal in doing more, than strictly to obey such orders. They had very cautiously kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle: they had used no diligence to get certain information concerning the French fleet, whether it was still in Brest, or had sailed out; but in that important matter they had trusted general and uncertain reports too easily: nor had they sailed with Rook till he was past danger: to all this their answer was, that they had observed their orders; they had reason to think the French were still in Brest; that therefore it was not safe to sail too far from the coast of England, when they had (as they understood) ground to believe, that they had left behind them a great naval force, which might make an impression on our coast, when they were at too great a distance from it; the getting certain intelligence from Brest, was represented as impracticable. They had many specious things to say in their own defence, and many friends to support them; for it was now the business of one party to accuse, and of another to justify that conduct. In conclusion, there was not ground sufficient to condemn the admirals; as they had followed their instructions; so a vote passed in their favour. The rest of the business of the session was managed both with dexterity and success: all ended well, though a little too late; for the session was not finished before the end of April. Prince Lewis of Bâden came this winter to concert measures with the King: he staid above two months in England, and was treated with very singular respects, and at a great expense.

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The government misrepresented.

The Tories began in this session to obstruct the King's measures more openly than before; the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham did it in the House of Lords with a peculiar edge and violence; they saw how great a reputation the fair administration of justice by the judges, and more particularly that equity which appeared in the whole pro-

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ceedings of the Court of Chancery, gave the government, therefore they took all occasions, that gave them any handle, to reflect on these. We had many sad declamations, setting forth the misery the nation was under in so tragical a strain, that those who thought it was quite otherwise with us, and that under all our taxes and losses, there was a visible increase of the wealth of the nation, could not hear all this without some indignation.

The bishops had their share of ill humour vented against them: it was visible to the whole nation that there was another face of strictness, of humility, and charity among them, than had been ordinarily observed before: they visited their dioceses more; they confirmed and preached oftener than any who had in our memory gone before them; they took more care in examining those whom they ordained, and in looking into the behaviour of their clergy, than had been formerly practised: but they were faithful to the government, and zealous for it; they were gentle to the dissenters, and did not rail at them, nor seem uneasy at the toleration. This was thought such a heinous matter, that all their other diligence was despised, and they were represented as men who designed to undermine the church, and to betray it.

The bishops  
are heavily  
charged.

Of this, I will give one instance; the matter was of great importance, and it occasioned great and long debates in this, and in the former session of parliament: it related to the Duke of Norfolk, who had proved his wife guilty of adultery, and did move for an act of parliament dissolving his marriage, and allowing him to marry again. In the later ages of popery, when marriage was reckoned among the sacraments, an opinion grew to be received, that adultery did not break the bond, and that it could only entitle to a separation, but not such a dissolution of the marriage as gave the party that was injured a right to marry again; this became the rule of the spiritual courts, though there was no definition made about it before the council of Trent. At the time of the Reformation, a suit of this nature was prosecuted by the Marquis of Northampton; the marriage was dissolved, and he married a second time; but he found it necessary to move for an act of parliament to confirm this subsequent marriage. In the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws that was prepared by Cranmer and others, in

Debates  
concerning  
divorce.

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King Edward's time, a rule was laid down allowing of a second marriage upon a divorce for adultery : this matter had lain asleep above an hundred years, till the present Duke of Rutland, then Lord Roos, moved for the like liberty : at that time a sceptical and libertine spirit prevailed, so that some began to treat marriage only as a civil contract, in which the parliament was at full liberty to make what laws they pleased, and most of King Charles's courtiers applauded this, hoping, by this doctrine, that the King might be divorced from the Queen. The greater part of the bishops, apprehending the consequence that Lord Roos's act might have, opposed every step that was made in it, though many of them were persuaded, that in the case of adultery, when it was fully proved, a second marriage might be allowed. In the Duke of Norfolk's case, as the lady was a papist, and a busy jacobite, so a great party appeared for her : all that favoured the jacobites, and those who were thought engaged in lewd practices, espoused her concern with a zeal that did themselves little honour : their number was such, that no progress could be made in the bill, though the proofs were but too full and too plain : but the main question was, whether, supposing the matter fully proved, the Duke of Norfolk should be allowed a second marriage : the bishops were desired to deliver their opinions with their reasons : all those who had been made during the present reign, were of opinion, that a second marriage in that case was lawful, and conformable both to the words of the gospel, and to the doctrine of the primitive church, and that the contrary opinion was started in the late and dark ages : but all the bishops that had been made by the two former kings, were of another opinion, though some of them could not well tell why they were so : here was a colour for men who looked at things superficially, to observe, that there was a difference of opinion between the last-made bishops, and those of an elder standing ; from which they inferred, that we were departing from the received doctrine of our church, and upon that topic, the Earl of Rochester charged us very vehemently. The bill was let fall at this time, nor was the dispute kept up, for no books were writ on the subject of either side.

The campaign in Flanders.

The King went beyond sea in May, and the campaign was opened soon after. The armies on both sides came

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very near one another: the King commanded that of the confederates, as the Dauphin did the French: they laid between Brussels and Liege, and it was given out that they intended to besiege Maestricht; the King moved towards Namur, that he might either cut off their provisions, or force them to fight; but they were resolved to avoid a battle; so they retired likewise, and the campaign passed over in the ordinary manner, both of them moving and watching one another. The King sent a great detachment to break into the French country at Pont Esperies; but though the body he sent had made a great advance before the French knew any thing of their march, yet they sent away their cavalry with so much haste, and in so continued a march, that they were possessed of the pass before the body the King had sent could reach it, whereby they gained their point, though their cavalry suffered much: this design failing, the King sent another body towards Huy, who took it in a few days. It was become more necessary to do this for the covering of Liege, which was now much broken into faction: their bishop was dead, and there was a great division in the chapter; some were for the Elector of Cologne, and others were for the Elector Palatine's brother; but that for the Elector of Cologne was the stronger party, and the court of Rome judged in their favour. The differences between that court and that of Versailles, were now so far made up, that the bulls for the bishops, whom the King had named to the vacant sees, were granted, upon the submission of all those who had been concerned in the articles of 1682: yet, after all that reconciliation, the real inclinations of the court of Rome lay still towards the confederates: the alliance that France was in with the Turk, was a thing of an odious sound at Rome. The taking of Huy covered Liege, so that they were both safer and quieter: the confederates, especially the English and the Dutch, grew weary of keeping up vast armies that did nothing else but lay for some months advantageously posted in view of the enemy without any action.

On the Rhine things went much in the usual manner; only at the end of the campaign the Prince of Baden passed the Rhine, and raised great contributions in Alsace, which the French suffered him to do, rather than hazard a battle: there was nothing of any importance done on either side in Pied-

On the  
Rhine.

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mont, only there appeared to be some secret management between the court of France, and that of Turin, in order to a peace: it was chiefly negotiated at Rome, but was all the while denied by the Duke of Savoy.

And in Catalonia.

In Catalonia the Spaniards were beat off from some posts, and Gironne was taken; nor was Barcelona in any condition to have resisted if the French had set down before it: the court of Madrid felt their weakness, and saw their danger so visibly, that they were forced to implore the protection of the English fleet. The French had carried the best part of their naval force into the Mediterranean, and had resolved to attack Barcelona, both by sea and land, at the same time; and upon their success there, to have gone round Spain, destroying their coasts every where: all this was intended to force them to accept the offers the French were willing to make them; but, to prevent this, Russel was ordered to sail into the Mediterranean with a fleet of three-score great ships: he was so long stopped in his voyage by contrary winds, that the French, if they had pursued their advantages, might have finished the conquest of Catalonia, but they resolved not to hazard their fleet, so it was brought back to Toulon, long before Russel could get into the Mediterranean, which was now left entirely free to him. But it was thought, that the French intended to make a second attempt in the end of the year, as soon as he should sail back to England: so it was proposed that he might lie at Cadiz all the winter. This was an affair of that importance, that it was long and much debated before it was resolved on. It was thought a dangerous thing, to expose the best part of our fleet so much as it must be, while it lay at so great a distance from us, that convoys of stores and provisions might easily be intercepted; and, indeed, the ships were so low in their provisions, when they came back to Cadiz (the vessels that were ordered to carry them, having been stopped four months in the Channel by contrary winds) that our fleet had not then above a fortnight's victuals on board; yet, when the whole matter was thoroughly canvassed, it was agreed, that our ships might both lie safe, and be well careened at Cadiz: nor was the difference in the expense, between their lying there, and in our own ports, considerable: by our lying there, the French were shut within the Mediterranean, so that the ocean and their

Our fleet lay at Cadiz.



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coasts were left open to us: they were in effect shut up within Toulon, for they, having no other port in those seas but that, resolved not to venture abroad; so that now we were masters of the seas every where. These considerations determined the King to send orders to Russel to lie all the winter at Cadiz, which produced very good effects. The Venetians and the great Duke had not thought fit to own the King till then. A great fleet of stores and ammunition, with all other provisions for the next campaign, came safe to Cadiz, and some clean men of war were sent out in exchange for others, which were ordered home.

But while we were very fortunate in our main fleet, we had not the like good success in an attempt that was made on Camaret, a small neck of land that lies in the mouth of the river of Brest, and would have commanded that river, if we could have made ourselves masters of it. Talmash had formed the design of seizing on it; he had taken care to be well informed of every thing relating to it; six thousand men seemed to be more than were necessary for taking and keeping it. The design, and the preparations for it, were kept so secret, that there was not the least suspicion of the project till the hiring transport ships discovered it. A proposition had been made of this two years before to the Earl of Nottingham, who, among other things, charged Russel with it, that this had been laid before him by men that came from thence, but that he had neglected it. Whether the French apprehended the design from that motion, or whether it was now betrayed to them, by some of those who were in the secret, I know not: it is certain, that they had such timely knowledge of it, as put them on their guard. The preparations were not quite ready by the day that was settled; and, when all was ready, they were stopped by a westerly wind for some time; so that they came thither a month later than was intended. They found the place was well fortified by many batteries, that were raised in different lines upon the rocks, that lay over the place of descent; and great numbers were there ready to dispute their landing. When our fleet came so near as to see all this, the council of officers were all against making the attempt: but Talmash had set his heart so much upon it, that he could not be diverted from it.

A design on  
Camaret.

He fancied, the men they saw were only a rabble brought

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 It miscar-  
 ried.

together to make a show, though it appeared very evidently, that there were regular bodies among them, and that their numbers were double to his. He began with a landing of six hundred men, and put himself at the head of them. The men followed him with great courage, but they were so exposed to the enemy's fire, and could do them so little harm, that it quickly appeared, it was needlessly throwing away the lives of brave men, to persist longer in so desperate an undertaking. The greatest part of those who landed, were killed, or taken prisoners; and not above an hundred of them came back. Talmash himself was shot in the thigh, of which he died in a few days, and was much lamented; for he was a brave and generous man, and a good officer, very fit to animate and encourage inferior officers and soldiers; but he was much too apt to be discontented, and to turn mutinous; so that, upon the whole, he was one of those dangerous men, that are capable of doing as much mischief as good service. Thus that design miscarried, which, if it had been undertaken at any time before the French were so well prepared to receive us, might have succeeded, and must have had great effects.

The French  
 coast bom-  
 barded,

Our fleet came back to Plymouth; and after they had set the land forces ashore, being well furnished with bomb-vessels and ammunition, they were ordered to try what could be done on the French coast: they lay first before Dieppe, and burnt it almost entirely to the ground; they went next to Havre de Grace, and destroyed a great part of that town. Dunkirk was the place of the greatest importance; so that attempt was long pursued in several ways, but none of them succeeded. These bombardings of the French towns soon spread a terror among all that lived near the coast; batteries were every where raised, and the people were brought out to defend their country: but they could do us no hurt, while our bombs at a mile's distance did great execution. The action seemed inhuman; but the French, who had bombarded Genoa without a previous declaration of war, and who had so often put whole countries under military execution, even after they had paid the contributions that had been laid on them (for which they had protection given them), had no reason to complain of this way of carrying on the war, which they themselves had first begun.

The campaign ended every where to the advantage of the confederates, though no signal success had happened to their arms; and this new scene of action at sea, raised the hearts of our people, as much as it sunk our enemies. The war in Turkey went on this year with various success; the Venetians made themselves masters of the Isle of Scio, the richest and the best peopled of all the islands in the Archipelago: those of that island had a greater share of liberty left them, than any subjects of the Ottoman empire, and they flourished accordingly. The great trade of Smyrna, that lay so near them, made them more considerable. The Venetians fortified the port, but used the natives worse than the Turks had done; and, as the island had a greater number of people upon it, than could subsist by the productions within themselves, and the Turks prohibited all commerce with them from Asia, from whence they had their bread; the Venetians could not keep this possession, unless they had carried off the greatest part of the inhabitants to the Morea, or their other dominions, that wanted people. The Turks brought their whole power at sea together, to make an attempt for recovering this island: two actions happened at sea, within ten days one of another: in the last of which, the Venetians pretended they had got a great victory, but their abandoning Scio, in a few days after, shewed that they did not find it convenient to hold that island, which obliged them to keep a fleet at such a distance from their other dominions, and at a charge which the keeping the island could not balance. The Turks sent, as they did every year, a great convoy to Caminieck, guarded by the Crim Tartars; the Polish army routed the convoy, and became masters of all the provisions: but a second convoy was more happy, and got into the place, otherwise it must have been abandoned. There was great distraction in the affairs of Poland; their Queen's intrigues with the court of France gave much jealousy: their diets were broke up in confusion; and they could never agree so far in the preliminaries, as to be able by their forms to do any business. In Transylvania, the Emperor had, after a long blockade, forced Giula to surrender: so that the Turks had now nothing in those parts, on the north of the Danube, but Temeswaer. The Grand Vizier came into Hungary with a great army, while the Emperor had a very small one to op-

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 Affairs in  
 Turkey.

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pose him. If the Turks had come on resolutely, and if the weather had continued good, it might have brought a fatal reverse on all the imperial affairs, and retrieved all that the Turks had lost. But the Grand Vizier lay still, while the Emperor's army increased, and such heavy rains fell, that nothing could be done. The affairs of Turkey were thus in great disorder; the Grand Seignior died soon after, and his successor in that empire gave his subjects such hopes of peace, that they were calmed for the present.

Attempts  
for a peace.

At the end of the campaign, the court of France flattered their people with a speedy end of the war; and some men of great consideration were sent to try what terms they could bring the empire or the states to: but the French were yet far from offering conditions, upon which a just or a safe peace could be treated of. The states sent some, as far as to Maestricht, to see what powers those sent from France had brought with them, before they would grant them the passports that they desired: and when they saw how limited these were, the negotiation was soon at an end; or rather it never began. When the French saw this, they disowned their having sent any on such an errand; and pretended, that this was only an artifice of the confederates to keep one another and their people in heart, by making them believe, that they had now only a small remnant of the war before them, since the French had instruments every where at work to solicit a peace.

A session of  
parliament.

The King came to England in the beginning of November; and the parliament was opened with a calmer face than had appeared in any session during this reign. The supplies that were demanded, the total amounting to five millions, were all granted readily. An ill humour indeed appeared in some, who opposed the funds that would most easily and most certainly raise the money that was given, upon this pretence, that such taxes would grow to be a general excise; and that the more easily money was raised, it would be the more easy to continue such duties to a longer period, if not for ever: the truth was, the secret enemies of the government proposed such funds as would be the heaviest to the people, and would not fully answer what they were estimated at; that so the nation might be uneasy under that load, and that a constant deficiency might

bring on such a debt, that the government could not discharge, but must sink under it.

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With the supply bills, as the price or bargain for them, the bill for frequent parliaments went on ; it enacted, that a new parliament should be called every third year, and that the present parliament should be dissolved before the 1st of January 1695-6 ; and to this the royal assent was given : it was received with great joy, many fancying that all their other laws and liberties were now the more secure, since this was passed into a law. Time must tell what effects it will produce ; whether it will put an end to the great corruption, with which elections were formerly managed, and to all those other practices that accompany them. Men that intended to sell their own votes within doors, spared no cost to buy the votes of others in elections ; but now it was hoped we should see a golden age, wherein the character men were in, and the reputation they had would be the prevailing considerations in elections ; and by this means it was hoped that our constitution, in particular that part of it which related to the House of Commons, would again recover both its strength and reputation, which was now very much sunk ; for corruption was so generally spread, that it was believed every thing was carried by that method.

An act for  
frequent  
parliaments.

But I am now coming towards the fatal period of this book. The Queen continued still to set a great example to the whole nation, which shined in all the parts of it. She used all possible methods for reforming whatever was amiss. She took ladies off from that idleness, which not only wasted their time, but exposed them to many temptations : she engaged many both to read and to work : she wrought many hours a-day herself, with her ladies and her maids of honour working about her, while one read to them all. The female part of the court had been, in the former reigns, subject to much censure, and there was great cause for it ; but she freed her court so entirely from all suspicion, that there was not so much as a colour for discourses of that sort. She did divide her time so regularly between her closet and business, her work and diversion, that every minute seemed to have its proper employment : she expressed so deep a sense of religion, with so true a regard to it ; she had such right principles and just notions ; and her deportment was so exact in every part of it, all

The Queen's  
administra-  
tion.

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being natural and unconstrained, and animated with due life and cheerfulness; she considered every thing that was laid before her so carefully, and gave such due encouragement to a freedom of speech; she remembered every thing so exactly, observing at the same time the closest reservedness, yet with an open air and frankness; she was so candid in all she said, and cautious in every promise she made; and, notwithstanding her own great capacity, she expressed such a distrust of her own thoughts, and was so entirely resigned to the King's judgment, and so constantly determined by it; that when I laid all these things together, which I had large opportunities to observe, it gave a very pleasant prospect, to balance the melancholy view that arose from the ill posture of our affairs in all other respects. It gave us a very particular joy, when we saw that the person, whose condition seemed to mark her out as the defender and perfecter of our reformation, was such in all respects in her public administration, as well as in her private deportment, that she seemed well fitted for accomplishing that work, for which we thought she was born; but we soon saw this hopeful view blasted, and our expectations disappointed in the loss of her.

Archbishop  
Tillotson's  
death.

It was preceded by that of Archbishop Tillotson, who was taken ill of a fit of a dead palsy in November, while he was in the chapel at Whitehall, on a Sunday, in the worship of God: he felt it coming on him; but not thinking it decent to interrupt the divine service, he neglected it too long, till it fell so heavily on him, that all remedies were ineffectual; and he died the fifth day after he was taken ill. His distemper did so oppress him, and speaking was so uneasy to him, that though it appeared by signs and other indications that his understanding remained long clear, yet he was not able to express himself so as to edify others. He seemed still serene and calm; and in broken words he said, he thanked God he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do but to wait for the will of Heaven. I preached his funeral sermon, in which I gave a character of him, which was so severely true, that I perhaps kept too much within bounds, and said less than he deserved. But we had lived in such friendship together, that I thought it was more decent, as it always is more safe, to err on that hand. He was the man of the truest judgment and best

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temper I had ever known : he had a clear head, with a most tender and compassionate heart : he was a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and soon-conquered enemy : he was truly and seriously religious, but without affectation, bigotry, or superstition : his notions of morality were fine and sublime : his thread of reasoning was easy, clear, and solid : he was not only the best preacher of the age, but seemed to have brought preaching to perfection : his sermons were so well heard and liked, and so much read, that all the nation proposed him as a pattern, and studied to copy after him : his parts remained with him clear and unclouded ; but the perpetual slanders, and other ill usage he had been followed with for many years, most particularly since his advancement to that great post, gave him too much trouble, and too deep a concern : it could neither provoke him, nor fright him from his duty ; but it affected his mind so much, that this was thought to have shortened his days.

Sancroft had died a year before, in the same poor and despicable manner in which he had lived for some years : he died in a state of separation from the church ; and yet he had not the courage to own it in any public declaration : for neither living nor dying did he publish any thing concerning it. His death ought to have put an end to the schism, that some were endeavouring to raise ; upon this pretence, that a parliamentary deprivation was never to be allowed, as contrary to the intrinsic power of the church ; and therefore they looked on Sancroft as the archbishop still, and reckoned Tillotson an usurper ; and all that joined with him were counted schismatics : they were willing to forget, as some of them did plainly condemn, the deprivations made in the progress of the Reformation, more particularly, those in the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the deprivations made by the act of uniformity in the year 1662 : but from thence, the controversy was carried up to the fourth century ; and a great deal of angry reading was brought out on both sides, to justify, or to condemn, those proceedings. But arguments will never have the better of interest and humour ; yet now, even according to their own pretensions, the schism ought to have ceased ; since he, on whose account it was set up, did never assert his right ; and therefore that might

Sancroft's  
death.

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Tenison succeeded.

Both King and Queen were much affected with Tillotson's death: the Queen for many days spoke of him in the tenderest manner, and not without tears. He died so poor, that if the King had not forgiven his first fruits, his debts could not have been all payed: so generous and charitable was he in a post, out of which Sancroft had raised a great estate, which he left to his family: but Tillotson was rich in good works. His see was filled by Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln. Many wished that Stillingfleet might have succeeded, he being not only so eminently learned, but judged a man in all respects fit for the post. The Queen was inclined to him; she spoke with some earnestness, oftener than once, to the Duke of Shrewsbury on that subject: she thought, he would fill that post with great dignity: she also pressed the King earnestly for him: but as his ill health made him not capable of the fatigue that belonged to this province; so the whigs did generally apprehend, that both his notions and his temper were too high; and all concurred to desire Tenison, who had a firmer health, with a more active temper; and was universally well liked, for having served the cure of St. Martin's, in the worst time, with so much courage and discretion; so that at this time he had many friends, and no enemies.

The small-pox raged this winter about London, some thousands dying of them; which gave us great apprehensions, with relation to the Queen; for she had never had them.

The Queen's sickness.

In conclusion, she was taken ill; but the next day that seemed to go off: I had the honour to be half an hour with her that day, and she complained then of nothing. The day following, she went abroad; but her illness returned so heavily on her that she could disguise it no longer: she shut herself up long in her closet that night, and burnt many papers, and put the rest in order: after that, she used some slight remedies, thinking it was only a transient indisposition; but it increased upon her; and within two days after, the small-pox appeared, and with very bad symptoms. I will not enter into another's province, nor speak



of matters so much out of the way of my own profession: but the physician's part was universally condemned, and her death was imputed to the negligence or unskilfulness of Dr. Ratcliff. He was called for; and it appeared, but too evidently, that his opinion was chiefly considered, and was most depended on. Other physicians were afterwards called; but not till it was too late. The King was struck with this beyond expression. He came, on the second day of her illness, and passed the bill for frequent parliaments; which, if he had not done that day, it is very probable he would never have passed it. The day after, he called me into his closet, and gave a free vent to a most tender passion: he burst out into tears; and cried out, that there was no hope of the Queen; and that, from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature upon earth. He said, during the whole course of their marriage, he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her, that nobody knew besides himself; though he added, that I might know as much of her as any other person did. Never was such a face of universal sorrow seen in a court, or in a town, as at this time: all people, men and women, young and old, could scarce refrain from tears: on Christmas-day, the small-pox sunk so entirely, and the Queen felt herself so well upon it, that it was for a while concluded she had the measles, and that the danger was over. This hope was ill grounded, and of a short continuance; for before night all was sadly changed. It appeared, that the small-pox were now so sunk, that there was no hope of raising them. The new Archbishop attended on her; he performed all devotions, and had much private discourse with her: when the desperate condition she was in, was evident beyond doubt, he told the King, he could not do his duty faithfully, unless he acquainted her with the danger she was in: the King approved of it, and said, whatever effect it might have, he would not have her deceived in so important a matter. And, as the Archbishop was preparing the Queen, with some address, not to surprise her too much with such tidings, she presently apprehended his drift, but shewed no fear nor disorder upon it. She said, she thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour; she had nothing then to do, but to

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look up to God, and submit to his will; it went further indeed than submission; for she seemed to desire death, rather than life; and she continued to the last minute of her life in that calm and resigned state. She had formerly wrote her mind, in many particulars, to the King: and she gave order, to look carefully for a small scrutoire that she made use of, and to deliver it to the King: and, having dispatched that, she avoided the giving herself or him the tenderness, which a final parting might have raised in them both. She was almost perpetually in prayer. The day before she died, she received the sacrament, all the bishops, who were attending, being admitted to receive it with her. We were, God knows, a sorrowful company; for we were losing her, who was our chief hope and glory on earth: she followed the whole office, repeating it after the Archbishop; she apprehended, not without some concern, that she should not be able to swallow the bread, yet it went down easily. When this was over, she composed herself solemnly to die; she slumbered sometimes, but said, she was not refreshed by it; and said often, that nothing did her good but prayer; she tried once or twice to have said somewhat to the King, but was not able to go through with it. She ordered the Archbishop to be reading to her such passages of scripture, as might fix her attention, and raise her devotion: several cordials were given, but all was ineffectual: she lay silent for some hours: and some words that came from her, shewed her thoughts began to break. In conclusion, she died on the 28th of December, about one in the morning, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign.

And death.

She was the most universally-lamented Princess, and deserved the best to be so, of any in our age, or in our history. I will add no more concerning her, in the way of a character: I have said a great deal already in this work; and I wrote a book, as an essay on her character, in which I have said nothing, but that which I knew to be strictly true, without the enlargement of figure or rhetoric. The King's affliction for her death was as great as it was just; it was greater than those, who knew him best, thought his temper capable of: he went beyond all bounds in it: during her sickness, he was in an agony, that amazed us all, fainting often, and breaking out into most violent lamentations: when she

died, his spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend, that he was following her ; for some weeks after, he was so little master of himself, that he was not capable of minding business, or of seeing company. He turned himself much to the meditations of religion, and to secret prayer : the Archbishop was often and long with him ; he entered upon solemn and serious resolutions of becoming, in all things, an exact and an exemplary Christian. And now I am come to the period of this book with a very melancholy prospect : but God has ordered matters since beyond all our expectations.

## BOOK VI.

*Of the life and reign of King William III.*

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The pro-  
ceeding in  
parliament.

THE two houses of parliament set an example, that was followed by the whole nation, of making consolatory and dutiful addresses to the King. The Queen was buried with the ordinary ceremony, and with one piece of magnificence that could never happen before; for both houses of parliament went in procession before the chariot that carried her body to Westminster Abbey; where places were prepared for both houses, to sit in form, while the Archbishop preached the funeral sermon. This could never happen before, since the sovereign's death had always dissolved our parliaments. It is true, the Earl of Rochester tried, if he could have raised a doubt of the legality of this parliament's continuance, since it was summoned by King William and Queen Mary; so upon her death, the writ, that ran in her name, seemed to die with her: this would have had fatal consequences, if in that season of the year all things must have stood still, till a new parliament could have been brought together: but the act, that put the administration entirely in the King, though the Queen had a share in the dignity of sovereign, made this cavil appear to be so ill grounded, that nobody seconded so dangerous a suggestion.

The ill state  
of the coin.

The parliament went on with the business of the nation; in which the Earl of Rochester, and that party, artfully studied all that was possible to embroil our affairs. The state of our coin gave them too great a handle for it. We had two sorts of coin: the one was milled, and could not be practised on; but the other was not so, and was subject to clipping: and in a course of some years, the old money was every year so diminished, that it at last grew to be less than the half of the intrinsic value. Those who drove this trade were as much enriched, as the nation suffered by it. When it came to be generally observed, the King was advised to issue out a proclamation, that no money should pass for the future, by the tale, but by the weight, which would put a present end to clipping: but Seymour, being

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then in the Treasury, opposed this. He advised the King to look on, and let that matter have its course: the parliament would, in due time, take care of it; but in the mean while the badness of money quickened the circulation, while every one studied to put out of his hands all the bad money; and this would make all people the readier to bring their cash into the Exchequer; and so a loan was more easily made. The badness of the money began now to grow very visible; it was plain that no remedy could be provided for it, but by recoinage all the specie of England, and that could not be set about in the end of a session. The Earls of Rochester and Nottingham represented this very tragically in the House of Lords, where it was not possible to give the proper remedy: it produced only an act, with stricter clauses and severer penalties against clippers: this had no other effect but that it alarmed the nation, and sunk the value of our money in the exchange. Guineas, which were equal in value to twenty-one shillings and sixpence in silver, rose to thirty shillings; that is to say, thirty shillings sunk to twenty-one shillings and sixpence. This public disgrace put on our coin, when the evil was not cured, was in effect a great point carried, by which there was an opportunity given to sink the credit of the government, and of the public funds; and it brought a discount of above 40% per cent. upon tallies.

Another bill was set on foot, which was long pursued; and, in conclusion, carried by the Tories: it was concerning trials for treason; and the design of it seemed to be to make men as safe, in all treasonable conspiracies and practices, as was possible. Two witnesses were to concur to prove the same fact at the same time. Counsel in matters of fact, and witnesses upon oath, were by it allowed to the prisoners; they were to have a copy of the indictment, and the pannel in due time: all these things were in themselves just and reasonable: and if they had been moved by other men, and at another time, they would have met with little opposition. They were chiefly set on by Finch, the Earl of Nottingham's brother, who had been concerned in the hard prosecutions for treasons in the end of King Charles's reign, and had then carried all prerogative points very far; but was, during this reign, in a constant opposition to every thing that was proposed for the King's service. He had a

A bill concerning trials for treason.

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copious way of speaking, with an appearance of beauty and eloquence to vulgar hearers; but there was a superficialness in most of his harangues, that made them seem tedious to better judges: his rhetoric was all vicious, and his reasoning was too subtle. The occasion given for this bill, leads me to give an account of some trials for treason during the last summer; which, for the relation they have to this matter, I have reserved for this place.

Trial in  
Lancashire.

Lunt, an Irishman, who was bold and poor, and of a mean understanding, had been often employed to carry letters and messages between Ireland and England, when King James was there. He was once taken up on suspicion; but he was faithful to his party, and would discover nothing; so he continued after that to be trusted by them: but, being kept very poor, he grew weary of his low estate, and thought of gaining the rewards of a discovery. He fell into the hands of one Taafl, an Irish priest, who had not only changed his religion, but had married in King James's time. Taafl came into the service of the present government, and had a small pension. He was long in pursuit of a discovery of the imposture in the birth of the Prince of Wales, and was engaged with more success in discovering the concealed estates of the priests, and the religious orders, in which some progress was made. These seemed to be sure evidences of the sincerity of the man, at least in his opposition to those whom he had forsaken, and whom he was provoking in so sensible a manner. All this I mention the more particularly, to shew how little that sort of men is to be depended on: he possessed those, to whom his other discoveries gave him access: of the importance of this, Lunt, who was then come from St. Germain, and who could make great discoveries: so Lunt was examined by the ministers of state; and he gave them an account of some discourses and designs against the King, and of an insurrection that was to have broke out in the year 1692, when King James was designing to come over from Normandy; for, he said, he had carried at that time commissions to the chief men of the party, both in Lancashire and Cheshire. A carrier had been employed to carry down great quantities of arms to them. One of the chests, in which they were put up, had broke in the carriage; so the carrier saw what was in them; and he deposed

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he had carried many of the same weight and size. The persons concerned, finding the carrier was true and secret, continued to employ him in that sort of carriage for a great while. Lunt's story seemed probable and coherent in all its circumstances: so orders were sent to seize on some persons, and to search houses for arms. In one house they found arms for a troop of horse, built up within walls very dexterously. Taaff was all this while very zealous in supporting Lunt's credit, and in assisting him in his discoveries; a solemn trial of the prisoners was ordered in Lancashire. When the set time drew near, Taaff sent them word, that if he should be well paid for it, he would bring them all off: it may be easily imagined that they stuck at nothing for such a service: he had got out of Lunt all his depositions which he disclosed to them; so they had the advantage of being well prepared to meet and overthrow his evidence in many circumstances; and at the trial Taaff turned against him, and witnessed many things against Lunt, that shook his credit. There was another witness that supported Lunt's evidence; but he was so profligate a man, that great and just objections lay against giving him any credit: but the carrier's evidence was not shaken. Lunt, in the trial, had named two gentlemen wrong, mistaking the one for the other; but he quickly corrected his mistake: he had seen them but once, and they were both together; so he might mistake their names; but he was sure these were the two persons with whom he had those treasonable negotiations. Taaff had engaged him in company in London, to whom he had talked very idly, like a man who resolved to make a fortune by swearing: and it seemed, by what he said, that he had many discoveries yet in reserve, which he intended to spread among many, till he should grow rich and considerable by it: this was sworn against him. By all these things, his evidence was so blasted, that no credit was given to him. Four of the judges were sent down to try the prisoners at Manchester, and at Chester; where they managed matters with an impartial exactness. Any leaning that appeared was in favour of the prisoners, according to a characteristic that judges had always pretended to, but had not of late deserved so well, as upon this occasion, of being counsel for the prisoner. The evidence that was brought against Lunt

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was afterwards found to be false; but it looked then with so good an appearance, that both the King's council, and the judges, were satisfied with it; and so, without calling for the rest of the evidence, the matter was let fall: and when the judges gave the charge to the jury, it was in favour of the prisoners; so that they were acquitted: and the rest of those, who were ordered to be tried after them, were all discharged without trial.

The whole party triumphed upon this as a victory; and complained both of the ministers of state and of the judges. The matter was examined into by both houses of parliament; and it evidently appeared, that the proceeding had been, not only exactly according to law, but that all reasonable favour had been shewed the prisoners; so that both houses were fully satisfied: only the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham hung on the matter long, and with great eagerness; and in conclusion protested against the vote, by which the lords justified these proceedings. This examination was brought on with much noise, to give the more strength to the bill of treasons; but the progress of the examination turned so much against them, who had made this use of it, that it appeared there was no just occasion given by that trial to alter the law: yet the Commons passed the bill; but the Lords insisted on a clause, that all the peers should be summoned to the trial of a peer that was charged with high treason. The Commons would not agree to that; and so the bill was dropped for this time. By the late trial it had manifestly appeared, how little the crown gained by one thing, which yet was thought an advantage; that the witnesses for the prisoner were not upon oath. Many things were, upon this occasion, witnessed in favour of the prisoners, which were afterwards found to be notoriously false; and, it is certain, that the terror of an oath is a great restraint; and many, whom an oath might overawe, would more freely allow themselves the liberty of lying, in behalf of a prisoner, to save his life.

Complaints  
of the Bank.

When this design failed, another was set up against the Bank, which began to have a flourishing credit, and had supplied the King so regularly with money, and that upon such reasonable terms, that those who intended to make matters go heavily, tried what could be done to shake the credit of the Bank: but this attempt was rejected in both



houses with indignation; it was very evident that public credit would signify little, if what was established in one session of parliament might be fallen upon, and shaken in another.

Towards the end of the session, complaints were made of some military men who did not pay their quarters, pretending their own pay was in arrear; but it appearing that they had been paid, and the matter being further examined into, it was found that the superior officers had cheated the subalterns, which excused their not paying their quarters. Upon this, the inquiry was carried further, and such discoveries were made, that some officers were broke upon it, while others prevented complaints by satisfying those whom they had oppressed. It was found out that the Secretary of the Treasury had taken 200 guineas for procuring the arrears due to a regiment to be paid, whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and turned out of his place: many were the more sharpened against him, because it was believed that he, as well as Trevor, the speaker, were deeply concerned in corrupting the members of the House of Commons: he had held his place both in King Charles and King James's time, and the share he had in the secret distribution of money, had made him a necessary man for those methods.

But the house, being on this scent, carried the matter still further. In the former session of parliament, an act that passed, creating a fund for the repayment of the debt owing to the orphans, by the chamber of London; and the chamber had made Trevor a present of 1000 guineas for the service he did them in that matter: this was entered in their books, so that full proof was made of it. It was indeed believed, that a much greater present had been made him in behalf of the orphans, but no proof of that appeared; whereas, what had been taken in so public a manner could not be hid: this was objected to Trevor as corruption, and a breach of trust; and, upon it, he was expelled the house; and Mr. Paul Foley was chosen speaker in his room, who had got great credit by his integrity, and his constant complaining of the administration.

One discovery made way for another: it was found, that in the books of the East India Company, there were entries made of great sums given for secret services done the Com-

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Inquiries  
into corrupt  
practices.

And into  
the presents  
made by the  
East India  
Company.

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pany, that amounted to 170,000*l.*; and it was generally believed, that the greatest part of it had gone among the members of the House of Commons. For the two preceding winters there had been attempts eagerly pursued by some for breaking the Company, and either opening a free trade to the Indies, or at least erecting a new company; but it was observed, that some of the hottest sticklers against the Company, did insensibly, not only fall off from that heat, but turned to serve the Company as much as they had at first endeavoured to destroy it: Seymour was among the chief of these, and it was said, that he had 12,000*l.* of their money, under the colour of a bargain for their saltpetre. Great pains and art was used to stifle this inquiry, but curiosity, envy, and ill nature, as well as virtue, will on such occasions always prevail to set on inquiries: those who have had nothing, desire to know who have had something, while the guilty persons dare not shew too great a concern in opposing discoveries. Sir Thomas Cook, a rich merchant, who was governor of the Company, was examined concerning that great sum given for secret service, but he refused to answer: so a severe bill was brought in against him in case he should not by a prefixed day confess how all that money had been disposed of. When the bill was sent up to the Lords, and was like to pass, he came in and offered to make a full discovery if he might be indemnified for all that he had done, or that he might say in that matter. The enemies of the court hoped for great discoveries that should disgrace both the ministers and the favourites; but it appeared, that whereas, both King Charles and King James had obliged the Company to make them a yearly present of 10,000*l.*; that the King had received this but once, and that, though the Company offered a present of 50,000*l.* if the King would grant them a new charter, and consent to an act of parliament confirming it, the King had refused to hearken to it. There were indeed presumptions that the Marquis of Caermarthen had taken a present of 5000 guineas, which were sent back to Sir Thomas Cook, the morning before he was to make his discovery. The Lords appointed twelve of their body to meet with twenty-four of the House of Commons, to examine into this matter; but they were so ill satisfied with the account that was given them by the four persons who had been entrusted with this

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secret, that by a particular act that passed both houses, they were committed to the Tower of London till the end of the next session of parliament, and restrained from disposing of their estates, real or personal: these were proceedings of an extraordinary nature, which could not be justified, but from the extraordinary occasion that was given for them. Some said this looked like the setting up a court of inquisition, when new laws were made on purpose to discover secret transactions, and that no bounds could be set to such a method of proceeding: others said, that when entries were made of such sums, secretly disposed of, it was as just for a parliament to force a confession, as it was common in the course of the law to subpoena a man to declare all his knowledge of any matter, how secretly soever it might have been managed, and what person soever might have been concerned in it. The Lord President felt that he was deeply wounded with this discovery, for while the act against Cook was passing in the House of Lords, he took occasion to affirm, with solemn protestations, that he himself was not at all concerned in that matter; but now all had broke out: one Firebrass, a merchant, employed by the East India Company, had treated with Bates, a friend of the Marquis of Caermarthen's, and, for the favour that lord was to do them in procuring them a new charter, Bates was to have for his use 5000 guineas: but now a new turn was to be given to all this; Bates swore, that he indeed received the money, and that he offered it to that Lord, who positively refused to take it; but, since it was already paid in, he advised Bates to keep it to himself, though, by the examination, it appeared, that Bates was to have 500*l.* for his own negotiating the affair: it did also appear, that the money was paid in to one of that Lord's servants, but he could not be come at: upon this discovery, the House of Commons voted an impeachment for a misdemeanour against the Lord President; he, to prevent that, desired to be heard speak to that House in his own justification: when he was before them, he set out the services that he had done the nation, in terms that were not thought very decent; he assumed the greatest share of the honour of the revolution to himself; he expressed a great uneasiness to be brought under so black an imputation, from which he cleared himself as much as words could do; in

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the end, he desired a present trial. Articles were upon that brought against him; he, in answer to these, denied his having received the money; but his servant, whose testimony only could have cleared that point, disappearing, the suspicion still stuck on him. It was intended to hang up the matter to another session, but an act of grace came in the end of this, with an exception, indeed, as to corruption; yet this whole discovery was let fall, and it was believed, too many of all sides were concerned in it; for, by a common consent, it was never revived, and thus the session ended.

Consulta-  
tions about  
the coin.

The first consultation, after it was over, was concerning the coin; what methods should be taken to prevent further clipping, and for remedying so great an abuse. Some proposed the recoinage the money, with such a raising of the value of the species, as should balance the loss upon the old money that was to be called in. This took with so many, that it was not easy to correct an error that must have had very bad effects in the conclusion; for the only fixed standard must be the intrinsic value of an ounce of silver; and it was a public robbery, that would very much prejudice our trade, not to keep the value of our species near an equality with its weight and fineness in silver: so that the difference between the old and new money, could only be set right by the House of Commons, in a supply to be given for that end. The Lord Keeper, Somers, did indeed propose that which would have put an effectual stop to clipping for the future: it was, that a proclamation should be prepared with such secrecy, as to be published over all England on the same day, ordering money to pass only by weight; but that, at the same time, during three or four days after the proclamation, all persons in every county, that had money, should bring it in to be told and weighed; and the difference was to be registered, and the money to be sealed up, to the end of the time given, and then to be restored to the owners; and an assurance was to be given, that this deficiency in weight should be laid before the parliament, to be supplied another way, and to be allowed them in the following taxes. But though the King liked this proposition, yet all the rest of the council were against it. They said this would stop the circulation of money, and might occasion tumults in the markets.

Those whose money was thus to be weighed, would not believe that the difference between the tale and the weight would be allowed them, and so might grow mutinous; therefore, they were for leaving this matter to the consideration of the next parliament. So this proposition was laid aside, which would have saved the nation above a million of money; for now, as all people believed that the parliament would receive the clipped money in its tale, clipping went on, and became more visibly scandalous than ever it had been.

There was indeed reason to apprehend tumults: for now, after the Queen's death, the jacobites began to think that the government had lost the half of its strength, and that things could not be kept quiet at home, when the King should be beyond sea. Some pretended they were for putting the Princess in her sister's place; but that was only a pretence, to which she gave no sort of encouragement:—King James lay at bottom. They fancied an invasion in the King's absence would be an easy attempt, which would meet with little resistance: so they sent some over to France, in particular, one Charnock, a Fellow of Magdalen College, who, in King James's time, had turned papist, and was a hot and active agent among them. They undertook to bring a body of two thousand horse to meet such an army as should be sent over: but Charnock came back with a cold account, that nothing could be done at that time; upon which it was thought necessary to send over a man of quality, who should press the matter with some more authority: so the Earl of Aylesbury was prevailed on to go: he was admitted to a secret conversation with the French King; and this gave rise to a design, which was very near being executed the following winter.

But, if Sir John Fenwick did not slander King James, they at this time proposed a shorter and more infallible way, by assassinating the King; for he said, that some came over from France about this time, who assured their party, and himself in particular, that a commission was coming over, signed by King James, which they affirmed they had seen, warranting them to attack the King's person. This, it is true, was not yet arrived; but some affirmed that they had seen it, and that it was trusted to one who was on his way hither; therefore, since the King was so near going

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Consultations among  
the jacobites.

A design to  
assassinate  
the King.

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over to Ireland, that he would probably be gone before the commission could be England, it was debated among the jacobites whether they ought not to take the first opportunity to execute this commission, even though they had it not in their hands : it was resolved to do it ; and a day was set for it ; but, as Fenwick said, he broke the design ; and sent them word that he would discover it, if they would not promise to give over the thoughts of it : and upon this reason, he believed, he was not let into the secret the following winter. This his lady told me from him, as an article of merit to obtain his pardon : but he had trusted their word very easily, it seems, since he gave the King no warning to be on his guard ; and the two witnesses whom he said he could produce to vouch this, were then under prosecution, and outlawed ; so that the proof was not at hand, and the warning had not been given, as it ought to have been. But of all this the government knew nothing, and suspected nothing, at this time.

A govern-  
ment in the  
King's ab-  
sence.

The King settled the government of England in seven lords justices during his absence : and in this a great error was committed, which had some ill effects, and was like to have had worse ; the Queen, when she was dying, had received a kind letter from, and had sent a reconciling message to, the Princess ; and so that breach was made up. It is true, the sisters did not meet : it was thought, that might throw the Queen into too great a commotion, so it was put off till it was too late : yet the Princess came soon after to see the King ; and there was after that an appearance of a good correspondence between them ; but it was little more than an appearance. They lived still in terms of civility, and in formal visits. But the King did not bring her into any share in business ; nor did he order his ministers to wait on her and give her any account of affairs. And now, that he was to go beyond sea, she was not set at the head of the councils, nor was there any care taken to oblige those who were about her. This looked either like a jealousy and distrust, or a coldness towards her, which gave all the secret enemies of the government a colour of complaint. They pretended zeal for the Princess, though they came little to her ; and they made it very visible, on many occasions, that this was only a disguise for worse designs.

The death of  
some lords.

Two great men had died in Scotland the former winter,

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the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensbury: they were brothers-in-law, and had been long great friends, but they became irreconcilable enemies. The first had more application, but the other had the greater genius: they were incompatible with each other, and indeed with all other persons; for both loved to be absolute, and to direct every thing. The Marquis of Halifax died in April this year: he had gone into all the measures of the tories; only he took care to preserve himself from criminal engagements: he studied to oppose every thing, and to embroil matters all he could: his spirit was restless, and he could not bear to be out of business: his vivacity and judgment sunk much in his last years, as well as his reputation: he died of a gangrene, occasioned by a rupture that he had long neglected: when he saw death so near him, and was warned that there was no hope, he shewed a great firmness of mind, and a calm that had much of true philosophy at least: he professed himself a sincere Christian, and lamented the former parts of his life, with solemn resolutions of becoming in all respects another man, if God should raise him up: and so, I hope, he died a better man than he lived.

The seven lords justices were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, the First Secretary of State, and the First Commissioner of the Treasury. They had no character nor rank, except when four of them were together: and they avoided assembling to that number, except at the council board, where it was necessary; and when they were together, they had the regal authority vested in them. They were chosen by the posts they were in: so that no other person could think he was neglected by the preference: they were not envied for this titular greatness, since it was indeed only titular; for they had no real authority trusted with them. They took care to keep within bounds, and to do nothing, but in matters of course, till they had the King's orders, to which they adhered exactly: so that no complaints could be made of them, because they took nothing on them, and did only keep the peace of the kingdom, and transmit and execute the King's orders. The summer went over quietly at home; for, though the jacobites shewed their disposition on some occasions, but most signally on the Prince of Wales's birth-day, yet they were wiser

The lords  
justices.

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than to break out into any disorder, when they had no hopes of assistance from France.

The campaign in Flanders.

About the end of May, the armies were brought together in Flanders: the King drew his main force towards the French lines, and the design was formed to break through and to destroy the French Flanders. Luxemburgh died this winter, so the command of the French armies was divided between Villeroy and Boufflers; but the former commanded the stronger army. An attempt was made on the fort of Knock, in order to forcing the lines; and there was some action about it; but all on the sudden, Namur was invested, and the King drew off the main part of his army to besiege that place, and left above thirty thousand men, under the command of the Prince of Vaudemont, who was the best general he had; for Prince Waldeck died above a year before this: with that army he was to cover Flanders and Brabant, while the King carried on the siege.

The siege of Namur.

Assoon as Namur was invested, Boufflers threw himself into it, with many good officers, and a great body of dragoons: the garrison was twelve thousand strong: a place so happily situated, so well fortified, and so well furnished and commanded, made the attempt seem bold and doubtful: the dry season put the King under another difficulty: the Maese was so low, that there was not water enough to bring up the barks, loaden with artillery and ammunition, from Liege and Maestricht, so that many days were lost in bringing these over land: if Villeroy had followed the King close, it is thought he must have quitted the design: but the French presumed upon the strength of the place and garrison, and on our being so little practised in sieges. They thought, that Villeroy might make some considerable conquest in Flanders, and when that was done, come in good time to raise the siege. Prince Vaudemont managed his army with such skill and conduct, that as he covered all the places on which he thought the French had an eye, so he marched with that caution, that though Villeroy had above double his strength, yet he could not force him to an engagement, nor gain any advantage over him. The military men that served under him magnified his conduct highly, and compared it to any thing that Turenne, or the greatest generals of the age had done. Once it was thought he could not get off; but he marched under the cannon of Gheat with-





out any loss. In this, Villeroy's conduct was blamed, but without cause; for he had not overseen his advantage, but had ordered the Duke of Mayne, the French King's beloved son, to make a motion with the horse which he commanded; and probably, if that had been speedily executed, it might have had ill effects on the Prince of Vaudemont: but the Duke de Mayne despised Villeroy, and made no haste to obey his orders; so the advantage was lost, and the King of France put him under a slight disgrace for it. Villeroy attacked Dixmuyde and Deinse: the garrisons were not indeed able to make a great resistance, but they were ill commanded. If their officers had been masters of a true judgment, or presence of mind, they might at least have got a favourable composition, and have saved the garrisons, though the places were not tenable: yet they were basely delivered up, and about seven thousand men were made prisoners of war. And hereupon, though by a cartel that had been settled between the two armies, all prisoners were to be redeemed at a set price, and within a limited time; yet the French, having now so many men in their hands, did, without either colour or shame, give a new essay of their perfidiousness, for they broke it upon this occasion, as they had often done at sea; indeed as often as any advantages on their side tempted them to it. The governors of those places were at first believed to have betrayed their trust, and sold the garrisons, as well as the places to the French; but they were tried afterwards, and it appeared that it flowed from cowardice and want of sense, for which one of them suffered, and the other was broke with disgrace.

Villeroy marched towards Brussels, and was followed by Prince Vaudemont, whose chief care was to order his motions so, that the French might not get between him and the King's camp at Namur. He apprehended, that Villeroy might bombard Brussels, and would have hindered it, if the town could have been wrought on to give him the assistance that he desired of them. Townsmen, upon all such occasions, are more apt to consider a present, though a small expense, than a great, though an imminent danger: so Prince Vaudemont could not pretend to cover them. The Electress of Bavaria was then in the town; and though Villeroy sent a compliment to her, yet he did not

Brussels  
was bom-  
barded.

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give her time to retire, but bombarded the place for two days, with so much fury, that a great part of the lower town was burnt down. The damage was valued at some millions, and the Electoress was so frightened, that she miscarried upon it of a boy. When this execution was done, Villeroy marched towards Namur: his army was now so much increased, by detachments brought from the Rhine, and troops drawn out of garrisons, that it was said to be one hundred thousand strong. Both armies on the Rhine were so equal in strength, that they could only lie on a defensive; neither side being strong enough to undertake any thing. M. de l'Orge commanded the French, and the Prince of Baden the imperialists: the former was sinking as much in his health as in his credit: so a great body was ordered to march from him to Villeroy; and another body equal to that, commanded by the Landgrave of Hesse, came and joined the King's army.

Namur was  
taken.

The siege was carried on with great vigour: the errors to which our want of practice exposed us, were all corrected by the courage of our men: the fortifications, both in strength, and in the extent of the outworks, were double to what they had been when the French took the place: our men did not only succeed in every attack, but went much further. In the first great sally, the French lost so many, both officers and soldiers, that after that, they kept within their works, and gave us no disturbance. Both the King and the Elector of Bavaria, went frequently into the trenches; the town held out one month, and the citadel another. Upon Villeroy's approach, the King drew off all the troops that could be spared from the siege, and placed himself in his way, with an army of sixty thousand men; but he was so well posted, that after Villeroy had looked on him for some days, he found it was not advisable to attack him. Our men wished for a battle, as that which would not only decide the fate of Namur, but of the whole war. The French gave it out, that they would put all to hazard, rather than suffer such a diminution of their King's glory, as the retaking that place seemed to be. But the signal of the citadel's treating, put an end to Villeroy's designs: upon which, he, apprehending that the King might then attack him, drew off with so much precipitation, that it looked liker a flight than a retreat.

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The capitulation was soon ended and signed by Boufflers, who, as was said, was the first Marshal of France that had ever delivered up a place: he marched out with five thousand men, so it appeared he had lost seven thousand during the siege; and we lost in it only the same number. This was reckoned one of the greatest actions of the King's life, and indeed one of the greatest that is in the whole history of war. It raised his character much, both at home and abroad, and gave a great reputation to his troops: the King had the entire credit of the matter; his general officers having a very small share in it, being most of them men of low genius, and little practised in things of that nature. Cohorn, the chief engineer, signalized himself so eminently on this occasion, that he was looked on as the greatest man of the age; and out-did even Vauban, who had gone far beyond all those that went before him, in the conduct of sieges; but it was confessed by all, that Cohorn had carried that art to a much farther perfection during this siege. The subaltern officers and soldiers gave hopes of a better race, that was growing up, and supplied the errors and defects of their superior officers. As the garrison marched out, the King ordered Boufflers to be stopped, in reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deinse. Boufflers complained of this as a breach of articles, and the action seemed liable to censure. But many authorities and precedents were brought, both from law and history, to justify it: all obligations among princes, both in peace and war, must be judged to be reciprocal; so that he who breaks these first sets the other at liberty. At length, the French consented to send back the garrisons, pursuant to the cartel: Boufflers was first set at liberty, and then these garrisons were released according to promise.

The officers were tried and proceeded against by councils of war, according to martial law; they were raised in the army by ill methods, and maintained themselves by worse; corruption had broke into the army, and oppression and injustice were much complained of. The King did not approve of those practices, but he did not inquire after them, nor punish them with a due severity; nor did he make difference enough between those who served well, sold nothing, and used their subalterns kindly, and those who set every thing to sale, and oppressed all that were

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under them; and when things of that kind go unpunished, they will soon make a great progress. There was little more done during the campaign in Flanders, nor was there any action upon the Rhine.

In Italy, there was nothing done in the field by force of arms; but an affair of great consequence was transacted, in a very mysterious manner. The Duke of Savoy, after a very long blockade, undertook the siege of Casal; but he was so ill provided for it, that no good account of it could be expected: the King had so little hopes of success, that he was not easily prevailed on to consent to the besieging it: but either the French intended to gain the Pope and the Venetians, and, in conclusion, that Duke himself, with this extraordinary concession; or, since our fleet was then before Toulon, they judged it more necessary to keep their troops for the defence of their coast and fleet, than to send them to relieve Casal; so orders were sent to the Governor to capitulate in such a number of days after the trenches were opened: so that the place was surrendered, though it was not at all strained. It was agreed, that it should be restored to the Duke of Mantua, but so dismantled, that it might give jealousy to no side: and the slighting the fortifications went on so slowly, that the whole season was spent in it, a truce being granted all that while. Thus did the French give up Casal, after they had been at a vast expense in fortifying it, and had made it one of the strongest places in Europe.

Casal was  
surren-  
dered.

Affairs at  
sea.

Our fleet was all the summer master of the Mediterranean: the French were put into great disorder, and seemed to apprehend a descent; for Russel came before Marseilles and Toulon oftener than once: contrary winds forced him out to sea again, but with no loss. He himself told me, he believed nothing could be done there; only the honour of commanding the sea, and of shutting the French within their ports, gave a great reputation to our affairs. In Catalonia, the French made no progress; they abandoned Palamos, and made Gironné their frontier. The Spaniards once pretended to besiege Palamos, but they only pretended to do it; they desired some men from Russel, for he had regiments of marines on board: they said, they had begun the siege, and were provided with every thing that was necessary to carry it on, only they wanted men; so he sent them

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some battalions; but when they came thither, they found not any one thing that was necessary to carry on a siege, not so much as spades, not to mention guns and ammunition: so Russel sent for his men back again: but the French of themselves quitted the place; for, as they found the charge of the war in Catalonia was great, and though they met with a feeble opposition from the Spaniards, yet since they saw they could not carry Barcelona, so long as our fleet lay in those seas, they resolved to lay by, in expectation of a better occasion. We had another fleet in our own Channel, that was ordered to bombard the French coast: they did some execution upon St. Maloes, and destroyed Grandville, that lay not far from it: they also attempted Dunkirk, but failed in the execution: some bombs were thrown into Calais, but without any great effect: so that the French did not suffer so much by the bombardment, as was expected: the country indeed was much alarmed by it; they had many troops dispersed all along their coast: so that it put their affairs in great disorder, and we were every where masters at sea. Another squadron, commanded by the Marquis of Caermarthen (whose father was created Duke of Leeds, to colour the dismissing him from business, with an increase of title) lay off from the isles of Scilly, to secure our trade, and convoy our merchants. He was an extravagant man, both in his pleasures and humours—he was slow in going to sea; and, when he was out, he fancied the French fleet was coming up to him, which proved to be only a fleet of merchant ships: so he left his station, and retired into Milford Haven; by which means, that squadron became useless.

This proved fatal to our trade; many of our Barbadoes ships were taken by French cruizers and privateers: two rich ships, coming from the East Indies, were also taken one hundred and fifty leagues to the westward, by a very fatal accident, or by some treacherous advertisement; for cruizers seldom go so far into the ocean: and to complete the misfortunes of the East India Company, three other ships, that were come near Gallway, on the west of Ireland, fell into the hands of some French privateers: those five ships were valued at a million, so here was great occasion of discontent in the city of London. They complained, that neither the Admiralty, nor the government, took the care

The losses  
of our mer-  
chants.

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that was necessary for preserving the wealth of the nation. A French man of war, at the same time, fell upon our factory on the coast of Guinea; he took the small fort we had there, and destroyed it: these misfortunes were very sensible to the nation, and did much abate the joy, which so glorious a campaign would otherwise have raised; and much matter was laid in for ill humour to work upon.

Affairs in  
Hungary.

The war went on in Hungary: the new Grand Seignior came late into the field; but as late as it was, the imperialists were not ready to receive him: he tried to force his way into Transylvania, and took some weak and ill-defended forts, which he soon after abandoned: Veterani, who was the most beloved of all the Emperor's generals, lay with a small army to defend the entrance into Transylvania: the Turks fell upon him, and overpowered him with numbers: his army was destroyed, and himself killed; but they sold their lives dear: the Turks lost double their number, and their best troops in the action; so that they had only the name and honour of a victory: they were not able to prosecute it, nor to draw any advantage from it. The stragglers of the defeated army drew together towards the passes; but none pursued them, and the Turks marched back to Adrianople, with the triumph of having made a glorious campaign. There were some slight engagements at sea, between the Venetians and the Turks, in which the former pretended they had the advantage; but nothing followed upon them. Thus affairs went on abroad during this summer.

A parliament in  
Scotland.

There was a parliament held in Scotland, where the Marquis of Tweeddale was the King's commissioner: every thing that was asked for the King's supply, and for the subsistence of his troops, was granted. The massacre in Glencoe made still a great noise, and the King seemed too remiss in inquiring into it; but when it was represented to him, that a session of parliament could not be managed, without high motions and complaints of so crying a matter, and that his ministers could not oppose these, without seeming to bring the guilt of that blood, that was so perfidiously shed, both on the King, and on themselves: to prevent that, he ordered a commission to be passed under the great seal, for a pre-cognition in that matter, which is a practice in the law of Scotland, of examining into crimes, before the persons con-

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cerned are brought upon their trial. This was looked on as an artifice, to cover that transaction by a private inquiry; yet, when it was complained of in parliament, not without reflections on the slackness in examining into it, the King's commissioner assured them, that by the King's order, the matter was then under examination, and that it should be reported to the parliament: the inquiry went on; and, in the progress of it, a new practice of the Earl of Breadalbane's was discovered; for the highlanders deposed that, while he was treating with them, in order to their submitting to the King, he had assured them, that he still adhered to King James's interest, and that he pressed them to come into that pacification, only to preserve them for his service, till a more favourable opportunity. This, with several other treasonable discourses of his, being reported to the parliament, he covered himself with his pardon; but these discourses happened to be subsequent to it; so he was sent a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh: he pretended, he had secret orders from the King, to say any thing that would give him credit with them; which the King owned so far, that he ordered a new pardon to be passed for him. A great party came to be formed in this session, of a very odd mixture: the high presbyterians, and the jacobites, joined together to oppose every thing; yet it was not so strong as to carry the majority; but great heats arose among them.

The report of the massacre of Glencoe was made in full parliament: by that it appeared, that a black design was laid, not only to cut off the men of Glencoe, but a great many more clans, reckoned to be in all above six thousand persons: the whole was pursued in many letters, that were writ with great earnestness; and, though the King's orders carried nothing in them, that was in any sort blameable, yet the Secretary of State's letters went much further. So the parliament justified the King's instructions, but voted the execution in Glencoe to have been a barbarous massacre, and that it was pushed on by the Secretary of State's letters, beyond the King's orders: upon that, they voted an address to be made to the King, that he, and others concerned in that matter, might be proceeded against according to law: this was carried by a great majority.

The business of Glencoe examined.

In this session an act passed in favour of such of the episcopal clergy, as should enter into those engagements

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to the King, that were by law required ; that they should continue in their benefices under the King's protection, without being subject to the power of the presbytery. This was carried with some address, before the presbyterians were aware of the consequences of it ; for it was plainly that which they call Erastianism. A day was limited to the clergy for taking the oaths ; and, by a very zealous and dexterous management, about seventy of the best of them were brought to take the oaths to the King ; and so they came within the protection promised them by the act.

An act for a  
new com-  
pany.

Another act passed, that has already produced very fatal consequences to that kingdom, and may yet draw worse after it. The interlopers in the East India trade, finding that the Company was like to be favoured by the parliament, as well as by the court, were resolved to try other methods to break in upon that trade. They entered into a treaty with some merchants in Scotland ; and they had, in the former session, procured an act, that promised letters patent to all such as should offer to set up new manufactures, or drive any new trade, not yet practised by that kingdom, with an exemption for twenty-one years from all taxes and customs, and with all such other privileges as should be found necessary for establishing or encouraging such projects : but here was a necessity of procuring letters patent, which they knew the credit that the East India Company had at court would certainly render ineffectual : so they were now in treaty for a new act, which should free them from that difficulty. There was one Paterson, a man of no education, but of great notions ; which, as was generally said, he had learned from the bucaniers, with whom he had consorted for some time. He had considered a place in Darien, where he thought a good settlement might be made, with another over against it in the South Sea ; and, by two settlements there, he fancied a great trade might be opened both for the East and West Indies ; and that the Spaniards in the neighbourhood might be kept in great subjection to them : so he made the merchants believe, that he had a great secret, which he did not think fit yet to discover, and reserved to a fitter opportunity ; only he desired that the West Indies might be named in any new act that should be offered to the parliament. He made them in general understand, that he knew of a country, not possessed



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by Spaniards, where there were rich mines and gold in abundance. While these matters were in treaty, the time of the King's giving the instructions to his commissioner for the parliament came on; and it had been a thing of course, to give a general instruction, to pass all bills for the encouragement of trade. Johnstone told the King, that he heard there was a secret management among the merchants for an act in Scotland, under which the East India trade might be set up: so he proposed, and drew an instruction, empowering the commissioner to pass any bill, promising letters patent for encouraging of trade, yet limited, so that it should not interfere with the trade of England. When they went down to Scotland, the King's commissioner either did not consider this, or had no regard to it; for he gave the royal assent to an act that gave the undertakers, either of the East India or West India trade, all possible privileges, with exemption of twenty-one years from all impositions. And the act directed letters patent to be passed under the great seal, without any further warrant for them: when this was printed, it gave a great alarm in England, more particularly to the East India Company; for many of the merchants of London resolved to join stock with the Scotch Company; and the exemption from all duties gave a great prospect of gain. Such was the posture of affairs in Scotland.

In Ireland, the three lords justices did not agree long together: the Lord Capel studied to render himself popular, and espoused the interests of the English against the Irish, without any nice regard to justice or equity. He was too easily set on by those who had their own end in it, to do every thing that gained him applause. The other two were men of severe tempers, and studied to protect the Irish when they were oppressed; nor did they try to make themselves otherwise popular than by a wise and just administration: so Lord Capel was highly magnified, and they were as much complained of by all the English in Ireland. Lord Capel did undertake to manage a parliament so as to carry all things, if he was made lord deputy, and had power given him to place and displace such as he should name: this was agreed to; and a parliament was held there, after he had made several removes. In the beginning of the session things went smoothly: the supply that was

Affairs in  
Ireland.

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asked, for the support of that government, was granted; all the proceedings in King James's parliament was annulled, and the great act of settlement was confirmed and explained as they desired: but this good temper was quickly lost by the heat of some who had great credit with Lord Capel. Complaints were made of Sir Charles Porter, the lord chancellor, who was beginning to set on foot a tory humour in Ireland, whereas it was certainly the interest of that government to have no other division among them, but that of English and Irish, and of protestant and papist. Lord Capel's party moved, in the House of Commons, that Porter should be impeached; but the grounds upon which this motion was made appeared to be so frivolous, after the Chancellor was heard by the House of Commons, in his own justification, that he was voted clear from all imputation, by a majority of two to one: this set the Lord Deputy, and the Lord Chancellor, with all the friends of both, at so great a distance from each other, that it put a full stop for some time to all business.

Thus factions were formed in all the King's dominions; and he, being for so much of the year at a great distance from the scene, there was no pains taken to quiet these, and to check the animosities which arose out of them. The King studied only to balance them, and to keep up among the parties a jealousy of one another, that so he might oblige them all to depend more entirely on himself.

A new parliament called.

As soon as the campaign was over in Flanders, the King intended to come over directly into England; but he was kept long on the other side by contrary winds. The first point that was under debate upon his arrival was, whether a new parliament should be summoned, or the old one be brought together again, which, by the law that was lately passed, might sit till Lady-day. The happy state the nation was in, put all men, except the merchants, in a good temper; none could be sure we should be in so good a state next year: so that now probably elections would fall on men who were well affected to the government: a parliament, that saw itself in its last session, might affect to be froward; the members, by such a behaviour, hoping to recommend themselves to the next election: besides, if the same parliament had been continued, probably the inquiries into corruption would have been carried on, which

might divert them from more pressing affairs, and kindle greater heats; all which might be more decently dropped by a new parliament, than suffered to lie asleep by the old one. These considerations prevailed, though it was still believed that the King's own inclinations led him to have continued the parliament yet one session longer; for he reckoned he was sure of the major vote in it: thus this parliament was brought to a conclusion, and a new one was summoned.

The King made a progress to the north; and staid some days at the Earl of Sunderland's, which was the first public mark of the high favour he was in. The King studied to constrain himself to a little more openness and affability than was natural to him: but his cold and dry way had too deep a root, not to return too oft upon him. The jacobites were so decried, that few of them were elected; but many of the sourer sort of whigs, who were much alienated from the King, were chosen: generally they were men of estates; but many were young, hot, and without experience. Foley was again chosen speaker: the demand of the supply was still very high, and there was a great arrear of deficiencies; all was readily granted, and lodged on funds, that seemed to be very probable.

The state of the coin was considered, and there were great and long debates about the proper remedies. The motion of raising the money above its intrinsic value, was still much pressed. Many apprehended that this matter could not be cured, without casting us into great disorders. Our money they thought would not pass, and so the markets would not be furnished; and it is certain, that if there had been ill humours then stirring in the nation, this might have cast us into great convulsions: but none happened, to the disappointment of our enemies; who had their eyes and hopes long fixed on the effects this might produce. All came in the end to a wise and happy resolution of recoin-ing all the specie of England, in milled money: all the old money was ordered to be brought in, in public payments, or loans to the Exchequer, and that by degrees; first the half-crown pieces, and the rest of the money by a longer day; money of a bad alloy, as well as clipped money, was to be received; though this was thought an ill precedent, and that it gave too much encouragement to false coining; yet it was judged necessary upon this occasion; and it gave a

The state of  
the coin rec-  
tified

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present calm to a ferment that was then working all England over. 1200,000*l.* was given to supply the deficiency of the bad and clipped money; so this matter was happily settled, and was put in a way to be effectually remedied, and it was executed with an order and a justice, with a quiet and an exactness, beyond all men's expectation: so that we were freed from a great and threatening mischief, without any of those effects that were generally apprehended from it.

An act of trials in cases of treason.

The bill of trials, in cases of treason, was again brought into the House of Commons, and passed there: when it came up to the Lords, they added the clause for summoning all the peers to the trial of a peer, which was not easily carried; for those, who wished well to the bill, looked on this as a device to lose it; as no doubt it was; and therefore they opposed it: but, contrary to the hopes of the court, the Commons were so desirous of the bill, that when it came down to them, they agreed to the clause, and so the bill passed, and had the royal assent.

Acts concerning elections to parliament.

A severe bill was brought in for voiding all the elections of parliament men, where the elected had been at any expense in meat, drink, or money to procure votes; it was very strictly penned, but time must shew whether any evasions can be found out to avoid it; certainly, if it has the desired effect, it would prove one of the best laws that ever was made in England, for abuses in elections were grown to most intolerable excesses, which threatened even the ruin of the nation. Another act passed against unlawful and double returns, for persons had been often returned, plainly contrary to the vote of the majority; and in boroughs, where there was a contest between the select number of the corporation, and the whole populace, both sides had obtained favourable decisions, as that side prevailed, on which the person elected happened to be, so both elections were returned, and the house judged the matter: but by this act, all returns were ordered to be made according to the last determination of the House of Commons: these were thought good securities for future parliaments; it had been happy for the nation, if the first of these had proved as effectual as the last was.

Complaints of the Scotch act.

Great complaints were made in both houses of the act for the Scotch East India Company, and addresses were

made to the King, setting forth the inconveniences that were like to arise from thence to England; the King answered, that he had been ill served in Scotland, but he hoped remedies should be found to prevent the ill consequences that they apprehended from the act; and soon after this, he turned out both the Secretaries of State, and the Marquis of Tweeddale; and great changes were made in the whole ministry of that kingdom, both high and low. No inquiry was made, nor proceedings ordered, concerning the business of Glencoe, so that furnished the libellers with some colours, in aspersing the King, as if he must have been willing to suffer it to be executed, since he seemed so unwilling to let it be punished.

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But when it was understood in Scotland that the King had disowned the act for the East India Company, from which it was expected that great riches should flow into that kingdom, it is not easy to conceive how great, and how general an indignation was spread over the whole kingdom; the jacobites saw what a game it was like to prove in their hands; they played it with great skill, and to the advantage of their cause in a course of many years, and continue to manage it to this day; there was a great deal of noise made of the Scotch act in both houses of parliament in England, by some, who seemed to have no other design in that, but to heighten our distractions by the apprehensions that they expressed. The Scotch nation fancied nothing but mountains of gold, and the credit of the design rose so high, that subscriptions were made, and advances of money were offered, beyond what any believed the wealth of that kingdom could have furnished. Paterson came to have such credit among them, that the design of the East India trade, how promising soever, was wholly laid aside, and they resolved to employ all their wealth in the settling a colony, with a port and fortifications in Darien, which was long kept a secret, and was only trusted to a select number, empowered by this new company, who assumed to themselves the name of the African Company, though they never meddled with any concern in that part of the world: the unhappy progress of this affair will appear in its proper time.

The losses of the merchants gave great advantages to those who complained of the administration; the conduct, with relation to our trade, was represented as at best a

Scotland  
much set  
on support-  
ing it.

A motion  
for a council  
of trade.

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neglect of the nation, and of its prosperity; some, with a more spiteful malice, said, it was designed, that we should suffer in our trade, that the Dutch might carry it from us; and how extravagant soever this might seem, it was often repeated by some men of virulent tempers; and in the end, when all the errors, with relation to the protection of our trade, were set out, and much aggravated, a motion was made to create, by act of parliament, a council of trade.

This was opposed by those, who looked on it as a change of our constitution in a very essential point; the executive part of the government was wholly in the King, so that the appointing any council, by act of parliament, began a precedent of their breaking in upon the execution of the law, in which it could not be easy to see how far they might be carried; it was indeed offered, that this council should be much limited as to its powers; yet many apprehended, that if the parliament named the persons, how low soever their powers might be at first, they would be enlarged every session; and, from being a council to look into matters of trade, they would be next empowered to appoint convoys and cruizers; this in time might draw in the whole admiralty, and that part of the revenue or supply that was appropriated to the navy; so that a king would soon grow to be a Duke of Venice; and indeed, those who set this on most zealously, did not deny that they designed to graft many things upon it.

The King was so sensible of the ill effects this would have, that he ordered his ministers to oppose it as much as possibly they could: the Earl of Sunderland, to the wonder of many, declared for it; as all that depended on him promoted it; he was afraid of the violence of the republican party, and would not venture on provoking them; the ministers were much offended with him for taking this method to recommend himself at their cost; the King himself took it ill, and he told me, if he went on driving it as he did, that he must break with him; he imputed it to his fear for the unhappy steps he had made in King James's time, which gave his enemies so many handles and colours for attacking him, that he would venture on nothing that might provoke them. Here was a debate, plainly in a point of prerogative, how far the government should continue on its ancient bottom of monarchy, as to the executive part; or how far it should

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turn to a commonwealth; and yet, by an odd reverse, the whigs, who were now most employed, argued for the prerogative, while the tories seemed jealous for public liberty: so powerfully does interest bias men of all forms.

This was going on, and probably would have passed in both houses, when the discovery of a conspiracy turned men's thoughts quite another way; so that all angry motions were let fall, and the session came to a very happy conclusion, with greater advantages to the King, than could have been otherwise expected. We were all this winter alarmed, from many different quarters, with the insolent discourses of the jacobites, who seemed so well assured of a sudden revolution, which was to be both quick and entire, that at Christmas they said, it would be brought about, within six weeks. The French fleet, which we had so long shut up within Toulon, was now fitting out, and was ordered to come round to Brest; our fleet that lay at Cadiz, was not strong enough to fight them, when they should pass the streits; Russel had come home, with many of the great ships, and had left only a squadron there; but a great fleet was ordered to go thither: it was ready to have sailed in December, but was kept in our ports, by contrary winds, till February: this was then thought a great unhappiness; but we found afterwards, that our preservation was chiefly owing to it; and it was so extraordinary a thing, to see the wind fixed at south west during the whole winter, that few could resist the observing a signal Providence of God in it. We were all this while in great pain for Rook, who commanded the squadron that lay at Cadiz; and was like to suffer for want of the provisions and stores, which this fleet was to carry him, besides the addition of strength this would bring him, in case the Toulon squadron should come about; we were only apprehensive of danger from that squadron; for we thought, that we could be in none at home, till that fleet was brought about; the advertisements came from many places, that some very important thing was ready to break out: it is true, the jacobites fed their party with such stories every year; but they both talked and wrote now with more than ordinary assurance. The King had been so accustomed to alarms and reports of this kind, that he had now so little regard to them, as scarce to be willing to hearken to those, who brought him such advertisements. He was so much

A conspiracy discovered.

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Of assassinating the King.

set on preparing for the next campaign, that all other things were little considered by him.

But in the beginning of February, one Captain Fisher came to the Earl of Portland, and in general told him, there was a design to assassinate the King; but he would not, or could not then name any of the persons, who were concerned in it; he never appeared more, for he had assurances given him, that he should not be made use of as a witness: few days after that, one Pendergrass, an Irish officer, came to the Earl of Portland, and discovered all that he knew of the matter; he freely told him his own name, but would not name any of the conspirators: La Rue, a Frenchman, came also to Brigadier Levison, and discovered to him all that he knew: these two, Pendergrass and La Rue, were brought to the King apart, not knowing of one another's discovery: they gave an account of two plots then on foot, the one for assassinating the King, and the other for invading the kingdom. The King was not easily brought to give credit to this, till a variety of circumstances, in which the discoveries did agree, convinced him of the truth of the whole design.

It has been already told, in how many projects King James was engaged for assassinating the King; but all these had failed; so now one was laid, that gave better hopes, and looked liker a military action, than a foul murder: Sir George Berkeley, a Scotchman, received a commission from King James, to go and attack the Prince of Orange, in his winter quarters: Charnock, Sir William Perkins, Captain Porter, and La Rue, were the men to whose conduct the matter was trusted; the Duke of Berwick came over, and had some discourse with them about the method of executing it: forty persons were thought necessary for the attempt; they intended to watch the King, as he should go out to hunt, or come back from it in his coach; some of them were to engage the guards, while others should attack the King, and either carry him off a prisoner, or, in case of any resistance, kill him. This soft manner was proposed, to draw military men to act in it, as a warlike exploit: Porter and Knightly went and viewed the grounds, and the way through which the King passed, as he went between Kensington and Richmond Park, where he used to hunt commonly on Saturdays; and they pitched on two places, where



they thought they might well execute the design. King James sent over some of his guards to assist in it; he spoke himself to one Harris to go over, and to obey such orders as he should receive from Berkeley; he ordered money to be given him, and told him, that, if he was forced to stay long at Calais, the president there would have orders to furnish him.

When the Duke of Berwick had laid the matter so well here, that he thought it could not miscarry, he went back to France, and met King James at St. Denis, who was come so far on his way from Paris: he stopped there, and after a long conference with the Duke of Berwick, he sent him first to his Queen at St. Germain, and then to the King of France, and he himself called for a notary, and passed some act; but it was not known to what effect. When that was done, he pursued his journey to Calais, to set himself at the head of an army of about twenty thousand men, that were drawn out of the garrisons, which lay near that frontier. These being full in that season, an army was in a very few days brought together, without any previous warning or noise. There came every winter a coasting fleet, from all the sea-ports of France to Dunkirk, with all the provisions for a campaign; and it was given out, that the French intended an early one this year: so that this coasting fleet was ordered to be there by the end of January; thus here were transport ships, as well as an army, brought together in a very silent manner; there was also a small fleet of cruizers, and some men of war ready to convoy them over: many regiments were embarked, and King James was waiting at Calais, for some tidings of that, on which he chiefly depended; for, upon the first notice of the success of the assassination, he was resolved to have set sail: so near was the matter brought to a crisis, when it broke out by the discovery, made by the persons above named. La Rue told all particulars, with the greatest frankness, and named all the persons that they had intended to engage in the execution of it; for several lists were among them, and those who concerted the matter, had those lists given them, and took it for granted, that every man named in those lists was engaged; since they were persons on whom they depended, as knowing their inclinations, and believing that they would readily enter into the project; though it had not been, at that.

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And to invade the kingdom.

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time, proposed to many of them, as it appeared afterwards. The design was laid, to strike the blow on the 15th of February, in a lane that turns down from Turnham-Green to Brentford; and the conspirators were to be scattered about the green, in taverns and ale-houses, and to be brought together, upon a signal given. They were cast into several parties, and an aid-de-camp was assigned to every one of them, both to bring them together, and to give the whole the air of a military action: Pendergrass owned very freely to the King, that he was engaged in interest against him, as he was of a religion contrary to his: he said, he would have no reward for his discovery, but he hated a base action; and the point of honour was the only motive that prevailed on him: he owned, that he was desired to assist in the seizing on him, and he named the person that was fixed on to shoot him; he abhorred the whole thing, and immediately came to reveal it. His story did in all particulars agree with La Rue's: for some time he stood on it, as a point of honour, to name no person; but upon assurance given him, that he should not be brought as a witness against them, he named all he knew. The King ordered the coaches and guards to be made ready the next morning, being the 15th of February, and a Saturday, his usual day of hunting; but some accident was pretended to cover his not going abroad that day: the conspirators continued to meet together, not doubting but that they should have occasion to execute their design the next Saturday: they had some always about Kensington, who came and went continually, and brought them an account of every thing that passed there: on Saturday, the 22nd of February, they put themselves in a readiness, and were going to take the posts assigned them; but were surprised, when they had notice that the King's hunting was put off a second time: they apprehended they might be discovered: yet as none were seized, they soon quieted themselves.

Many of the  
conspirators  
seized on.

Next night, a great many of them were taken in their beds; and the day following, the whole discovery was laid before the privy council. At the same time, advices were sent to the King from Flanders, that the French army was marching to Dunkirk, on design to invade England. And now, by a very happy providence, though hitherto a very unacceptable one, we had a great fleet at Spithead ready to sail: and we had another fleet designed for the summer's

service in our own seas, quite ready, though not yet manned. Many brave seamen, seeing the nation was in such visible danger, came out of their lurking holes, in which they were hiding themselves from the press, and offered their service: and all people shewed such zeal, that in three days, Russel, who was sent to command, stood over to the coast of France, with a fleet of above fifty men of war. The French were amazed at this; and upon it, their ships drew so near their coasts, that he durst not follow them in such shallow water, but was contented with breaking their design, and driving them into their harbours. King James staid for some weeks there; but, as the French said, his malignant star still blasted every project that was formed for his service.

The court of France was much out of countenance with this disappointment; for that King had ordered his design of invading England, to be communicated to all the courts in which he had ministers; and they spoke of it with such an air of assurance, as gave violent presumptions, that the King of France knew of the conspiracy against the King's person, and depended upon it; for indeed, without that, the design was impracticable, considering how great a fleet we had at Spithead. Nor could any men of common sense have entertained a thought of it, but with a view of the confusion into which the intended assassination must have cast us. They went on in England, seizing the conspirators; and a proclamation was issued out, for apprehending those that absconded, with a promise of 1000*l.* reward to such as should seize on any of them, and the offer of a pardon to every conspirator that should seize on any of the rest. This set all people at work, and in a few weeks most of them were apprehended; only Berkeley was not found, who had brought the commission from King James, though great search was made for him. For, though the reality of such a commission was fully proved afterwards, in the trials of the conspirators, by the evidence of those who had seen and read it all, written in King James's own hand, (such a paper being too important to be trusted to any copy) yet much pains were taken to have found the very person who was intrusted with it: the commission itself would have been a valuable piece, and such an original, as was not to be found any where.

The design  
of the inva-  
sion broken.

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The military men would not engage on other terms; they thought, by the laws of war, they were bound to obey all orders that run in a military style, and no other; and so they imagined that their part in it was as innocent, as the going on any desperate design during a campaign. Many of them repined at the service, and wished that it had not been put on them; but, being commanded, they fancied that they were liable to no blame nor infamy, but ought to be treated as prisoners of war.

Porter discovered all.

Among those who were taken, Porter and Pendergrass were brought in: Porter had been a vicious man, engaged in many ill things, and was very forward and furious in all their consultations. The Lord Cutts, who, as captain of the guards, was present when the King examined Pendergrass, but did not know his name, when he saw him brought in, pressed him to own himself, and the service he had already done; but he claimed the promise of not being forced as a witness, and would say nothing. Porter was a man of pleasure, who loved not the hardships of a prison, and much less the solemnities of an execution, so he confessed all: and then Pendergrass, who had his dependance on him, freely confessed likewise. He said, Porter was the man who had trusted him; he could not be an instrument to destroy him; yet he lay under no obligations to any others among them. Porter had been in the management of the whole matter; so he gave a very copious account of it all, from the first beginning. And now it appeared, that Pendergrass had been but a very few days among them, and had seen very few of them; and that he came and discovered the conspiracy the next day after it was opened to him.

Both houses of parliament enter into a voluntary association.

When by these examinations the matter was clear and undeniable, the King communicated it, in a speech, to both houses of parliament: they immediately made addresses of congratulation, with assurances of adhering to him against all his enemies, and in particular, against King James; and after that, motions were made in both houses for an association, wherein they should own him as their rightful and lawful King, and promise faithfully to adhere to him against King James, and the pretended Prince of Wales; engaging at the same time to maintain the act of succession, and to revenge his death on all who should be

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concerned in it. This was much opposed in both houses, chiefly by Seymour and Finch, in the House of Commons, and the Earl of Nottingham in the House of Lords. They went chiefly upon this, that "rightful and lawful" were words that had been laid aside in the beginning of this reign; that they imported one that was king by descent, and so could not belong to the present King. They said, the crown and the prerogatives of it were vested in him, and therefore they would obey him and be faithful to him, though they could not acknowledge him their rightful and lawful king. Great exceptions were also taken to the word, "revenge," as not of an evangelical sound: but that word was so explained, that these were soon cleared; revenge was to be meant in a legal sense, either in the prosecution of justice at home, or of war abroad: and the same word had been used in that association, into which the nation entered, when it was apprehended that Queen Elizabeth's life was in danger, by the practices of the Queen of Scots. After a warm debate, it was carried in both houses, that an association should be laid on the table, and that it might be signed by all such as were willing of their own accord to sign it; only with this difference, that instead of the words, "rightful and lawful king," the Lords put these words,—That King William hath the right by law to the crown of these realms, and that neither King James, nor the pretended Prince of Wales, nor any other person, has any right whatsoever to the same. This was done to satisfy those who said, they could not come up to the words, "rightful and lawful." And the Earl of Rochester offering these words, they were thought to answer the ends of the association, and so were agreed to. This was signed by both houses, excepting only fourscore in the House of Commons, and fifteen in the House of Lords. The association was carried from the houses of parliament over all England, and was signed by all sorts of people, a very few only excepted. The bishops also drew a form for the clergy, according to that signed by the House of Lords, with some small variation, which was so universally signed, that not above an hundred all over England refused it.

Soon after this, a bill was brought into the House of Commons declaring all men incapable of public trust, or to serve in parliament, who did not sign the association.

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This passed with no considerable opposition; for those who had signed it of their own accord, were not unwilling to have it made general; and such as had refused it when it was voluntary, were resolved to sign it as soon as the law should be made for it. And at the same time, an order passed in council for reviewing all the commissions in England, and for turning out of them all those who had not signed the association while it was voluntary; since this seemed to be such a declaration of their principles and affections, that it was not thought reasonable that such persons should be any longer either justices of peace or deputy lieutenants.

A fund upon  
a land bank.

The session of parliament was soon brought to a conclusion. They created one fund upon which two millions and an half were to be raised, which the best judges did apprehend was neither just nor prudent. A new bank was proposed, called the Land Bank, because the securities were to be upon land: this was the main difference between it and the Bank of England: and, by reason of this, it was pretended that it was not contrary to a clause in the act for that bank, that no other bank should be set up in opposition to it. There was a set of undertakers who engaged that it should prove effectual, for the money for which it was given: this was chiefly managed by Foley, Harley, and the tories: it was much laboured by the Earl of Sunderland, and the King was prevailed on to consent to it, or rather to desire it, though he was then told by many of what ill consequence it would prove to his affairs. The Earl of Sunderland's excuse for himself, when the error appeared afterwards but too evidently, was, that he thought it would engage the tories in interest to support the government.

Charnock  
and others  
tried and  
executed.

After most of the conspirators were taken, and all examinations were over, some of them were brought to their trials. Charnock, King, and Keys, were begun with: the design was fully proved against them. Charnock shewed great presence of mind, with temper and good judgment, and made as good a defence as the matter could bear; but the proof was so full, that they were all found guilty. Endeavours were used to persuade Charnock to confess all he knew; for he had been in all their plots from the beginning. His brother was employed to deal with him, and he

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seemed to be once in suspense ; but the next time that his brother came to him, he told him, he could not save his own life without doing that which would take away the lives of so many, that he did not think his own life worth it. This shewed a greatness of mind that had been very valuable if it had been better directed. Thus this matter was understood at the time. But many years after this, the Lord Somers gave me a different account of it. Charnock, as he told me, sent an offer to the King of a full discovery of all their consultations and designs ; and desired no pardon, but only that he might live in some easy prison, and if he was found to prevaricate in any part of his discovery, he would look for the execution of the sentence. But the King apprehended, that so many persons would be found concerned, and thereby be rendered desperate, that he was afraid to have such a scene opened, and would not accept of this offer. At his death, Charnock delivered a paper, in which he confessed he was engaged in a design to attack the Prince of Orange's guards : but he thought himself bound to clear King James, from having any commission to assassinate him. King's paper, who suffered with him, was to the same purpose ; and they both took pains to clear all those of their religion from any accession to it. King expressed a sense of the unlawfulness of the undertaking ; but Charnock seemed fully satisfied with the lawfulness of it. Keys was a poor ignorant trumpeter, who had his dependance on Porter, and now suffered chiefly upon his evidence, for which he was much reflected on. It was said, that servants had often been witnesses against their masters, but that a master's witnessing against his servant was somewhat new and extraordinary.

The way that Charnock and King took to vindicate King James, did rather fasten the imputation more upon him : they did not deny, that he had sent over a commission to attack the Prince of Orange, which, as Porter deposed, Charnock told him he had seen. If this had been denied by a dying man, his last words would have been of some weight : but instead of denying that which was sworn, he only denied, that King James had given a commission for assassination ; and it seems great weight was laid on this word, for all the conspirators agreed in it, and denied that King James had given a commission to assassinate the

King James  
was not ac-  
quitted by  
them.

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Prince of Orange. This was an odious word, and perhaps no person was ever so wicked, as to order such a thing in so crude a manner; but the sending a commission to attack the King's person, was the same thing upon the matter, and was all that the witnesses had deposed. Therefore their not denying this, in the terms in which the witnesses swore it, did plainly imply a confession that it was true. But some, who had a mind to deceive themselves or others, laid hold on this, and made great use of it, that dying men had acquitted King James of the assassination. Such slight colours will serve, when people are engaged beforehand to believe as their affections lead them.

Friend and  
Perkins  
tried and  
suffered.

Sir John Friend, and Sir William Perkins, were tried next. The first of these had risen from mean beginnings to great credit, and much wealth: he was employed by King James, and had all this while stuck firm to his interests: his purse was more considered than his head, and was open on all occasions, as the party applied to him. While Parker was formerly in the Tower, upon information of an assassination of the King designed by him, he furnished the money that corrupted his keepers, and helped him to make his escape out of the Tower: he knew of the assassination, though he was not to be an actor in it; but he had a commission for raising a regiment for King James, and he had entertained and paid the officers who were to serve under him; he had also joined with those who had sent over Charnock, in May 1695, with the message to King James, mentioned in the account of the former year; it appearing now, that they had then desired an invasion with eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse, and had promised to join these with two thousand horse upon their landing. In this, the Earl of Aylesbury, the Lord Montgomery, son to the Marquis of Powis, and Sir John Fenwick, were also concerned: upon all this evidence, Friend was condemned, and the Earl of Aylesbury was committed, prisoner to the Tower. Perkins was a gentleman of estate, who had gone violently into the passions and interests of the court, in King Charles's time: he was one of the six clerks in Chancery, and took all oaths to the government, rather than lose his place: he did not only consent to the design of assassination, but undertook to bring five men, who should assist in it; and he had



brought up horses for that service, from the country; but had not named the persons; so this lay yet in his own breast. He himself was not to have acted in it, for he likewise had a commission for a regiment; and therefore was to reserve himself for that service: he had also provided a stock of arms, which were hid under ground, and were now discovered: upon this evidence, he was condemned. Great endeavours were used, both with Friend and him, to confess all they knew: Friend was more sullen, as he knew less; for he was only applied to and trusted, when they needed his money: Perkins fluctuated more: he confessed the whole thing for which he was condemned; but would not name the five persons whom he was to have sent in to assist in the assassination: he said he had engaged them in it, so he could not think of saving his own life by destroying theirs. He confessed he had seen King James's commission; the words differed a little from those which Porter had told; but Porter did not swear that he saw it himself; he only related what Charnock had told him concerning it; yet Perkins said they were to the same effect: he believed it was all writ with the King's own hand; he had seen his writing often, and was confident it was writ by him. He owned that he had raised and maintained a regiment; but he thought he could not swear against his officers, since he himself had drawn them into the service; and he affirmed that he knew nothing of the other regiments. He sent for the Bishop of Ely, to whom he repeated all these particulars, as the Bishop himself told me. He seemed much troubled with a sense of his former life, which had been very irregular. The House of Commons sent some to examine him; but he gave them so little satisfaction, that they left him to the course of the law. His tenderness in not accusing those whom he had drawn in, was so generous, that this alone served to create some regard for a man, who had been long under a very bad character. In the beginning of April, Friend and he were executed together.

A very unusual instance of the boldness of the jacobites appeared upon that occasion: these two had not changed their religion, but still called themselves protestants; so three of the nonjuring clergymen waited on them to Tyburn; two of them had been oft with Friend, and one of

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They had a  
public abso-  
lution given  
them.

them with Perkins: and all the three, at the place of execution, joined to give them public absolution, with an imposition of hands, in the view of all the people; a strain of impudence that was as new as it was wicked; since these persons died, owning the ill designs they had been engaged in, and expressing no other sort of repentance for them. So these clergymen, in this solemn absolution, made an open declaration of their allowing and justifying these persons in all they had been concerned in. Two of these were taken and censured for this in the King's Bench; the third made his escape.

Other con-  
spirators  
tried and  
executed.

Three other conspirators, Rookwood, Lowick, and Cranborn, were tried next. By this time the new act for trials in such cases began to take place; so these held long; for their counsel stuck upon every thing. But the evidence was now more copious; for three other witnesses came in; the government being so gentle as to pardon even the conspirators who confessed their guilt, and were willing to be witnesses against others. The two first were papists: they expressed their dislike of the design; but insisted on this, that as military men, they were bound to obey all military orders; and they thought that the King, who knew the laws of war, ought to have a regard to this, and to forgive them. Cranborn called himself a protestant, but was more sullen than the other two; to such a degree of fury and perverseness had the jacobites wrought up their party. Knightly was tried next: he confessed all; and upon that, though he was condemned, he had a reprieve, and was afterwards pardoned. These were all the trials and executions that even this black conspiracy drew from the government; for the King's inclinations were so merciful, that he seemed uneasy even under these acts of necessary justice.

Cook tried  
for the inva-  
sion.

Cook was brought next upon his trial, on account of the intended invasion: for he was not charged with the assassination: his trial was considered as introductory to the Earl of Aylesbury's; for the evidence was the same as to both. Porter and Goodman were two witnesses against him: they had been with him at a meeting in a tavern in Leadenhall Street, where Charnock received instructions to go to France with the message formerly mentioned. All that was brought against this was, that the master of the

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tavern, and two of his servants, swore, that they remembered well when that company was at the tavern, for they were often coming into the room where they sat, both at dinner time, and after it; and that they saw not Goodman there. On the other hand, Porter deposed, that Goodman was not with them at dinner, but that he came to that house after dinner, and sent him in a note; upon which he, with the consent of the company, went out and brought him in: and then it was certain that the servants of the house were not in that constant attendance; nor could they be believed in a negative, against positive evidence to the contrary. Their credit was not such but that it might be well supposed, that, for the interest of their house, they might be induced to make stretches. The evidence was believed, and Cook was found guilty and condemned. He obtained many short reprieves, upon assurances that he would tell all he knew; but it was visible he did not deal sincerely: his punishment ended in a banishment. Sir John Fenwick was taken not long after, going over to France, and was ordered to prepare for his trial; upon which he seemed willing to discover all he knew; and in this he went off and on, for he had no mind to die, and hoped to save himself by some practice or other. Several days were set for his trial, and he procured new delays by making some new discoveries. At last, when he saw that slight and general ones would not serve his turn, he sent for the Duke of Devonshire, and wrote a paper as a discovery, which he gave him to be sent to the King; and that Duke, affirming to the lords justices, that it was not fit that paper should be seen by any before the King saw it, the matter was suffered to rest for this time.

The summer went over, both in Flanders and on the Rhine, without any action: all the funds given for this year's service proved defective; but that of the Land Bank failed totally; and the credit of the Bank of England was much shaken. About five millions of clipped money was brought into the Exchequer; and the loss that the nation suffered by the recoinage of the money, amounted to 2,200,000*l*. The coinage was carried on with all possible haste; about 80,000*l*. was coined every week: yet still this was slow, and the new money was generally kept up; so that, for

The campaign beyond sea feebly carried on.

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several months, little of it appeared. This stop in the free circulation of money, put the nation into great disorder: those who, according to the act of parliament, were to have the first payments in milled money, for the loans they had made, kept their specie up, and would not let it go, but at an unreasonable advantage. The King had no money to pay his army, so they were in great distress, which they bore with wonderful patience. By this means, the King could undertake nothing, and was forced to lie on the defensive: nor were the French strong enough to make an impression in any place. The King had a mighty army, and was much superior to the enemy; yet he could do nothing; and it passed for a happy campaign, because the French were not able to take any advantage from those ill accidents that our want of specie brought us under; which indeed were such, that nothing but the sense all had of the late conspiracy kept us quiet and free from tumults. It now appeared, what a strange error the King was led into, when he accepted of so great a sum, to be raised by a Land Bank. It was scarce honourable, and not very safe at any time; but it might have proved fatal at a time in which money was like to be much wanted; which want would have been less felt if paper credit had been kept up; but one bank working against another, and the goldsmiths against both, put us to great straits: yet the Bank supplied the King in this extremity, and thereby convinced him, that they were his friends in affection as well as interest.

A peace in  
Piedmont.

The secret practices in Italy were now ready to break out. The Pope and the Venetians had a mind to send the Germans out of Italy, and to take the Duke of Savoy out of the necessity of depending on those they called heretics. The management in the business of Casal looked so dark, that the Lord Gallway, who was the King's general and envoy there, did apprehend there was somewhat mysterious under it. One step more remained to settle the peace there; for the Duke of Savoy would not own that he was in any negotiation till he should have received the advances of money that were promised him from England and Holland; for he was much set on the heaping of treasure, even during the war; to which end he had debased the coin so, that it was not above a sixth part in intrinsic value of what it passed for. He was always beset with his priests, who

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were perpetually complaining of the progress that heresy was like to make in his dominions. He had indeed granted a very full edict in favour of the Vaudois, restoring their former liberties and privileges to them, which the Lord Gallway took care to have put in the most emphatical words, and passed with all the formalities of law, to make it as effectual as laws and promises can be: yet every step that was made in that affair, went against the grain, and was extorted from him by the intercession of the King and the states, and by the Lord Gallway's zeal.

In conclusion, the French were grown so weary of that war, and found the charge of it so heavy, that they offered not only to restore all that had been taken, but to demolish Pignerol, and to pay the Duke some millions of crowns: and, to complete the whole, the Duke of Burgundy should marry his daughter: to this he consented; but to cover this defection from his allies, it was further agreed, that Catinat should draw his army together, before the Duke could bring his to make head against him, and that he should be ordered to attempt the bombardment of Turin, that so the Duke might seem to be forced by the extremity of his affairs, to take such conditions as were offered him: he had a mind to have cast the blame on his allies, but they had assisted him more effectually at this time, than on other occasions: a truce was first made, and that, after a few months, was turned into an entire peace; one article whereof was, that the Milanese should have a neutrality granted them, in case the German forces were sent out of Italy: all the Italian princes and states concurred in this, to get rid of the Germans as soon as was possible, so the Duke of Savoy promised to join with the French to drive them out. Valence was the first place that the Duke of Savoy attacked; there was a good garrison in it, and it was better provided than the places of the Spaniards generally were; it was not much pressed, and the siege held out some weeks, many dying in it: at last, the courts of Vienna and Madrid accepted of the neutrality, and engaged to draw the Germans out of these parts, upon an advance of money, which the princes of Italy were glad to pay, to be delivered of such troublesome guests.

Thus ended the war in Piedmont after it had lasted six years; Pignerol was demolished, but the French, by the

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treaty, might build another fort at Fenestrella, which is in the middle of the hills; and it will not be so important as Pignerol was, though it may prove an uneasy neighbour to the Duke of Savoy: his daughter was received in France as Dutchess of Burgundy, though not yet of the age of consent, for she was but ten years old.

Nothing of consequence passed in Catalonia: the French went no further than Gironne, and the Spaniards gave them no disturbance: both the King and Queen of Spain were at this time so ill, that, as is usual upon such occasions, it was suspected they were both poisoned: the King of Spain relapsed often, and at last remained in that low state of health, in which he seemed to be always rather dying than living. The court of France were glad of his recovery, for they were not then in a condition to undertake such a war as the Dauphin's pretensions must have engaged them in.

Affairs in  
Hungary.

In Hungary, the Turks advanced again towards Transylvania, where the Duke of Saxony commanded the imperial army; the Turks did attack them, and they defended themselves so well, that, though they were beat, yet it cost the Turks so dear, that the Grand Seignior could undertake nothing afterwards. The imperialists lost about five thousand men, but the Turks lost above twice that number, and the Grand Seignior went back with an empty triumph, as he did the former year: but another action happened, in a very remote place, which may come to be of a very great consequence to him. The Muscovites, after they had been for some years under the divided monarchy of two brothers, or rather of a sister, who governed all in their name, by the death of one of these, came now under one czar; he entered into an alliance with the Emperor against the Turks; and Azoph, which was reckoned a strong place, that commanded the mouth of the Tanais or Donn, where it falls into the Meotis-palud, after a long siege, was taken by his army. This opened the Euxine Sea to him, so that, if he be furnished with men skilled in the building and sailing of ships, this may have consequences that may very much distress Constantinople, and be in the end fatal to that empire. The King of Denmark's health was now on a decline, upon which the Duke of Holstein was taking advantage, and new disputes were like to arise there.

Affairs at  
sea.

Our affairs at sea went well, with relation to trade; all

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our merchant fleets came happily home; we made no considerable losses; on the contrary, we took many of the French privateers; they now gained little in that way of war, which in some of the former years had been very advantageous to them. Upon the breaking out of the conspiracy, orders were sent to Cadiz for bringing home our fleet; the Spaniards murmured at this, though it was reasonable for us to take care of ourselves in the first place: upon that, the French fleet was also ordered to come about; they met with rough weather, and were long in the passage, so that if we had sent a squadron before Brest, we had probably made some considerable advantage, but the fleet was so divided, that faction appeared in every order, and in every motion; nor did the King study enough to remedy this, but rather kept it up, and seemed to think, that was the way to please both parties; but he found afterwards, that by all his management with the tories, he disgusted those who were affectionate and zealous for him; and that the tories had too deep an alienation from him to be overcome with good usage: their submissions, however, to him, gained their end, which was to provoke the whigs to be peevish and uneasy. Our fleet sailed towards the Isle of Rhee, with some bomb vessels; some small islands were burnt and plundered, as St. Martin's was bombarded; the loss the French made was not considerable in itself, but it put their affairs in great distraction, and the charge they were at in defending their coast was much greater than ours in attacking it. This was the state of affairs in England, and abroad, during the summer.

Scotland was falling into great misery, by reason of two successive bad harvests, which exhausted that nation, and drove away many of their people: the greatest number went over to Ireland. A parliament was held at Edinburgh, and in a very thin house, every thing that was asked was granted. They were in a miserable condition, for two such bad years lay extremely heavy on them.

This summer the French were making steps towards a peace. The court was very uneasy under so long and so destructive a war: the country was exhausted: they had neither men nor money. Their trade was sunk to nothing, and public credit was lost. The creation of new offices, which always was considered as a resource never to be

Affairs in  
Scotland.A treaty of  
peace set on  
foot by the  
French.

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exhausted, did not work as formerly; few buyers or undertakers appeared. That King's health was thought declining. He affected secrecy and retirement; so that both the temper of his mind, and the state of his affairs, disposed him to desire a peace. One Callieres was sent to make propositions to the states, as D'Avaux was pressing the King of Sweden to offer his mediation. The states would hearken to no proposition, till two preliminaries were agreed to; the first was, that all things should be brought back to the state in which they were put, by the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen. This imported, not only the restoring Mons and Charleroy, but likewise Strasburgh and Luxemburgh, and that in the state which they were in at present. The other preliminary was, that France should own the King, whensoever the peace should be concluded. The Emperor, who designed to keep off any negotiation as much as possible, moved that this should be done before the treaty was opened; but the King thought the other was sufficient, and would not suffer the peace to be obstructed by a thing that might seem personal to himself. To all this the court of France, after some delays, consented: but that spirit of chicane and injustice that had reigned so long in that court, did still appear in every step that was made: for they made use of equivocal terms in every paper that was offered in their name. The states had felt the effects of these in their former treaties, too sensibly, not to be now on their guard against them. The French still returned to them: and when some points seemed to be quite settled, new difficulties were still thrown in. It was proposed by the French that the popish religion must continue still at Strasburgh; that the King of France could not in conscience yield that point. It was also pretended, that Luxemburgh was to be restored in the same state, in which it was when the French took it. These variations did almost break off the negotiation; but the French would not let it fall, and yielded them up again; so it was visible all this was only an amusement and an artifice by this shew of peace, to get the parliament of England to declare for it, since, as a trading nation must grow weary of war, so the party they had among us would join in with the inclination, that was now become general, to promote the peace: for though our affairs were in all respects, except that of the coin, in so good



a condition, that we felt ourselves grow richer by the war; yet during each campaign, we ran a greater risk than our enemies did; for all our preservation hung on the single thread of the King's life, and on that prospect the party that wrought against the government had great hopes, and acted with much spirit during the war, which we had reason to think must sink with a peace.

The parliament met in November; and at the opening of the session, the King, in his speech to the two houses, acquainted them with the overtures that were made towards a peace; but added, that the best way to obtain a good one was, to be in a posture for carrying on the war. The great difficulty was to find a way to restore credit: there was a great arrear due; all funds had proved deficient; and the total failing of the Land Bank had brought a great confusion on all payments. The arrears were put upon the funds of the revenue, which had been granted for a term of but five years, and that was now ending; so a new continuance of those revenues was granted, and they were put under the management of the Bank of England; which, upon that security, undertook the payment of them all. It was long before all this was fully settled. The Bank was not willing to engage in it; yet at last it was agreed: and the Bank quickly recovered its credit so entirely, that there was no discount upon the notes. The arrear amounted to ten millions: and five millions more were to be raised for the charge of the following year. So that one session was to secure fifteen millions, a sum never before thought possible to be provided for, in any one session. There was not specie enough for giving that quick circulation which is necessary for trade; so to remedy that, the Treasury was empowered to give out notes to the value of almost three millions, which were to circulate as a species of money, and to be received in taxes, and were to sink gradually, as the money should arise out of the fund that was created to answer them: by these methods, all the demands, both for arrears, and for the following year, were answered. The Commons sent a bill to the Lords, limiting elections to future parliaments that none should be chosen but those who had such a proportion of estate or money: the Lords rejected it; they thought it reasonable to leave the nation to their freedom, in choosing their representatives in parlia-

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A session of  
parliament  
in England.

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ment. It seemed both unjust and cruel, that if a poor man had so fair a reputation as to be chosen, notwithstanding his poverty, by those who were willing to pay him wages, that he should be branded with an incapacity, because of his small estate: corruption in elections was to be apprehended from the rich, rather than from the poor. Another bill was sent up by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords, prohibiting the importation of all East India silks and Bengals; this was proposed to encourage the silk manufacture at home; and petitions were brought for it by great multitudes, in a very tumultuary way; but the Lords had no regard to that.

Fenwick's  
business.

The great business of this session, that held longest in both houses, was a bill relating to Sir John Fenwick: the thing was of so particular a nature, that it deserves to be related in a special manner; and the great share that I bore in the debate, when it was in the House of Lords, makes it more necessary for me copiously to enlarge upon it: for it may at first view seem very liable to exception; that a man of my profession should enter so far into a debate of that nature. Fenwick, when he was first taken, writ a letter to his lady, setting forth his misfortunes, and giving himself for dead, unless powerful applications could be made for him, or that some of the jury could be hired to starve out the rest; and to that he added, "This or nothing can save my life." This letter was taken from the person to whom he had given it: at his first examination before the lords justices, he denied every thing, till he was shewed this letter, and then he was confounded. In his private treaty with the Duke of Devonshire, he desired an assurance of life, upon his promising to tell all he knew; but the King refused that, and would have it left to himself to judge of the truth, and the importance of the discoveries he should make: so he, resolving to cast himself on the King's mercy, sent him a paper, in which, after a bare account of the consultations among the jacobites (in which he took care to charge none of his own party) he said, that King James, and those who were employed by him, had assured them, that both the Earls of Shrewsbury and Marlborough, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russel, were reconciled to him, and were now in his interests, and acting for him. This was a discovery that could signify nothing, but to give

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the King a jealousy of those persons; for he did not offer the least shadow or circumstance, either of proof or of presumption, to support this accusation. The King, not being satisfied herewith, sent an order for bringing him to a trial, unless he made fuller discoveries: he desired to be further examined by the lords justices, to whom he, being upon oath, told some more particulars; but he took care to name none of his own side, but those against whom evidence was already brought, or who were safe and beyond sea: some few others he named, who were in matters of less consequence, that did not amount to high treason: he owned a thread of negotiations, that had passed between them and King James, or the court of France: he said, the Earl of Aylesbury had gone over to France, and had been admitted to a private audience of the French King, where he had proposed the sending over an army of thirty thousand men, and had undertaken that a great body of gentlemen and horses should be brought to join them. It appeared by his discoveries, that the jacobites in England were much divided; some were called compounders, and others non-compounders. The first sort desired securities from King James, for the preservation of the religion and liberties of England; whereas the second sort were for trusting him upon discretion, without asking any terms, putting all in his power, and relying entirely on his honour and generosity: these seemed indeed to act more suitably to the great principle, upon which they all insisted, that kings have their power from God, and are accountable only to him for the exercise of it. Dr. Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich, was the only eminent clergyman that went into this: and, therefore, all that party had, upon Sancroft's death, recommended him to King James, to have his nomination for Canterbury.

Fenwick put all this in writing, upon assurance, that he should not be forced to witness any part of it. When that was sent to the King, all appearing to be so trifling, and no other proof being offered for any part of it, except his own word, which he had stipulated should not be made use of, his Majesty sent an order to bring him to his trial. But, as the King was slow in sending this order, so the Duke of Devonshire, who had been in the secret management of the matter, was for some time in the country: the lords jus-

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Practices  
upon wit-  
nesses.

tices delayed the matter till he came to town ; and then the King's coming was so near, that it was respited till he came over. By these delays, Fenwick gained his main design in them, which was to practise upon the witnesses.

His lady began with Porter : he was offered, that if he would go beyond sea, he should have a good sum in hand, and an annuity secured to him for his life : he hearkened so far to the proposition, that he drew those, who were in treaty with him, together with the lady herself, who carried the sum that he was to receive, to a meeting, where he had provided witnesses, who should over-hear all that passed, and should upon a signal come in, and seize them with the money ; which was done, and a prosecution upon it was ordered. The practice was fully proved, and the persons concerned in it were censured, and punished : so Porter was no more to be dealt with. Goodman was the other witness : first they gathered matter to defame him, in which his wicked course of life furnished them very copiously ; but they trusted not to this method, and betook themselves to another, in which they prevailed more effectually ; they persuaded him to go out of England : and by this means, when the last orders were given for Fenwick's trial, there were not two witnesses against him ; so, by the course of law, he must have been acquitted : the whole was upon this kept entire for the session of parliament. The King sent to the House of Commons the two papers that Fenwick had sent him. Fenwick was brought before the house ; but he refused to give any farther account of the matter contained in them ; so they rejected them as false and scandalous, made only to create jealousies : and they ordered a bill of attainder to be brought against Fenwick ; which met with great opposition in both houses, in every step that was made. The debates were the hottest, and held the longest, of any that ever I knew. The Lords took a very extraordinary method to force all their absent members to come up ; they sent messengers for them to bring them up, which seemed to be a great breach on their dignity ; for the privilege of making a proxy was an undoubted right belonging to their peerage ; but those, who intended to throw out the bill, resolved to have a full house. The bill set forth the artifices Fenwick had used to gain delays, and the practice upon Porter, and Goodman's escape ; the

A bill of at-  
tainer  
against Fen-  
wick.

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last having sworn treason against him at Cook's trial, and likewise to the grand jury, who had found the bill against him upon that evidence. So now Porter appearing, and giving his evidence against him, and the evidence that Goodman had given, being proved, it was inferred, that he was guilty of high treason, and that therefore he ought to be attainted.

The substance of the arguments brought against this way of proceeding, was, that the law was all men's security, as well as it ought to be their rule: if this was once broke through, no man was safe: men would be presumed guilty without legal proofs, and be run down and destroyed by a torrent: two witnesses seemed necessary, by an indisputable law of justice, to prove a man guilty: the law of God given to Moses, as well as the law of England, made this necessary: and, besides all former ones, the law lately made for trials in cases of treason, was such a sacred one, that it was to be hoped, that even a parliament would not make a breach upon it. A written deposition was no evidence, because the person accused could not have the benefit of cross-interrogating the witness, by which much false swearing was often detected: nor could the evidence given in one trial be brought against a man, who was not a party in that trial: the evidence that was offered to a grand jury, was to be examined all over again at the trial; till that was done, it was not evidence. It did not appear, that Fenwick himself was concerned in the practice upon Porter: what his lady did, could not be charged on him: no evidence was brought that Goodman was practised on; so his withdrawing himself could not be charged on Fenwick. Some very black things were proved against Goodman, which would be strong to set aside his testimony, though he were present: and that proof, which had been brought in Cook's trial, against Porter's evidence, was again made use of, to prove, that as he was the single witness, so he was a doubtful and suspected one: nor was it proper, that a bill of this nature should begin in the House of Commons, which could not take examinations upon oath. This was the substance of the arguments that were urged against the bill.

Reasons  
against it.

On the other hand, it was said, in behalf of the bill, that the nature of government required that the legislature

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Reasons for  
the bill.

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should be recurred to in extraordinary cases, for which effectual provision could not be made by fixed and standing laws: our common law grew up out of the proceedings of the courts of law: afterwards, this, in cases of treason, was thought too loose, so the law in this point was limited, first by the famous statute in King Edward the Third's time, and then by the statute in King Edward the Sixth's time; the two witnesses were to be brought face to face with the person accused: and that the law, lately made, had brought the method of trials to a yet further certainty: yet in that, as well as in the statute of Edward the Third, parliamentary proceedings were still excepted: and, indeed, though no such provision had been expressly made in the acts themselves, the nature of government puts always an exception in favour of the legislative authority. The legislature was indeed bound to observe justice and equity, as much, if not more, than the inferior courts; because the supreme court ought to set an example to all others: but they might see cause to pass over forms, as occasion should require: this was the more reasonable among us, because there was no nation in the world, besides England, that had not recourse to torture, when the evidence was probable, but defective: that was a mighty restraint, and struck a terror into all people; and the freest governments, both ancient and modern, thought they could not subsist without it. At present, the Venetians have their civil inquisitors, and the Grisons have their high courts of justice, which act without the forms of law, by the absolute trust that is reposed in them, such as the Romans reposed in dictators, in the time of their liberty. England had neither torture, nor any unlimited magistrate in its constitution; and, therefore, upon great emergencies, recourse must be had to the supreme legislature. Forms are necessary in subordinate courts, but there is no reason to tie up the supreme one by them: this method of attainder had been practised among us at all times: it is true, what was done in this way at one time, was often reversed at another; but that was the effect of the violence of the times, and was occasioned often by the injustice of those attainders: the judgments of the inferior courts were, upon the like account, often reversed; but when parliamentary attainders went upon good grounds, though without observing the forms of law, they were never

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blamed, not to say condemned. When poisoning was first practised in England, and put in a pot of porridge in the Bishop of Rochester's house, this, which was only felony, was, by a special law, made to be high treason, and a new punishment was appointed by act of parliament: the poisoner was boiled alive. When the nun of Kent pretended to visions, to oppose King Henry the Eighth's divorce, and his second marriage; and said, if he married again, he should not live long after it, but should die a villain's death; this was judged in parliament to be high treason: and she and her accomplices suffered accordingly. After that, there passed many attainders in that reign, only upon depositions that were read in both houses of parliament. It is true, these were much blamed, and there was great cause for it: there were too many of them: for this extreme way of proceeding is to be put in practice but seldom, and upon great occasions; whereas, many of these went upon slight grounds, such as the uttering some passionate and indecent words, or the using some embroidery in garments and coats of arms with an ill intent. But that which was indeed execrable, was, that persons in prison were attainted, without being heard in their own defence: this was so contrary to natural justice, that it could not be enough condemned. In King Edward the Sixth's time, the Lord Seymour was attainted in the same manner, only with this difference, that the witnesses were brought to the bar, and there examined; whereas, formerly, they proceeded upon some depositions that were read to them. At the Duke of Somerset's trial, which was both for high treason and for felony, in which he was acquitted of the former, but found guilty of the latter, depositions were only read against him; but the witnesses were not brought face to face, as he pressed they might be: upon which it was, that the following parliament enacted, that the accusers (that is the witnesses) should be examined face to face if they were alive. In Queen Elizabeth's time, the parliament went out of the method of law, in all the steps of their proceedings against the Queen of Scots: it is true, there were no parliamentary attainders in England, during that long and glorious reign, upon which those who opposed the bill insisted much; yet that was only because there then was no occasion here in England for any such bill: but in Ireland,

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where some things were notoriously true, which yet could not be legally proved, that government was forced to have, on many different occasions, recourse to this method. In King James the First's time, those who were concerned in the gunpowder plot, and chose to be killed rather than taken, were, by act of parliament, attainted after their death; which the courts of law could not do, since by our law a man's crimes die with himself; for this reason, because he cannot make his own defence, nor can his children do it for him. The famous attainder of the Earl of Strafford, in King Charles the First's time, has been much and justly censured; not so much because it passed by bill, as because of the injustice of it. He was accused for having said, upon the House of Commons refusing to grant the subsidies the King had asked, "that the King was absolved from all the rules of government, and might make use of force to subdue this kingdom." These words were proved only by one witness, all the rest of the council, who were present, deposing, that they remembered no such words, and were positive that the debate ran only upon the war with Scotland; so that though "this kingdom," singly taken, must be meant of England, yet it might well be meant of "that kingdom," which was the subject then of the debate: since, then, the words were capable of that favourable sense, and that both he who spoke them, and they who heard them, affirmed that they were meant and understood in that sense, it was a most pernicious precedent, first to take them in the most odious sense possible, and then to destroy him who said them, upon the testimony of one exceptionable witness; whereas, if, upon the Commons refusing to grant the King's demand, he had plainly advised the King to subdue his people by force, it is hard to tell what the parliament might not justly have done, or would not do again in the like case. In King Charles the Second's time, some of the most eminent of the regicides were attainted after they were dead; and, in King James's time, the Duke of Monmouth was attainted by bill: these last attainders had their first beginning in the House of Commons. Thus it appeared, that these last two hundred years, not to mention much antienter precedents, the nation had, upon extraordinary occasions, proceeded in this parliamentary way by bill. There were already many prece-



dents of this method: and whereas it was said, that an ill parliament might carry these too far, it is certain the nation, and every person in it, must be safe, when they are in their own hands, or in those of a representative chosen by themselves; as, on the other hand, if that be ill chosen, there is no help for it; the nation must perish, for it is by their own fault: they have already too many precedents for this way of proceeding, if they intend to make an ill use of them: but a precedent is only a ground or warrant for the like proceeding upon the like occasion.

Two rules were laid down for all bills of this nature: first, that the matter be of a very extraordinary nature; lesser crimes had better be passed over, than punished by the legislature. Of all the crimes that can be contrived against the nation, certainly the most heinous one is, that of bringing in a foreign force to conquer us: this ruins both us and our posterity for ever: distractions at home, how fatal soever, even though they should end ever so tragically, as ours once did in the murder of the King, and in a military usurpation, yet were capable of a crisis and a cure. In the year 1660, we came again to our wits, and all was set right again; whereas, there is no prospect after a foreign conquest, but of slavery and misery: and how black soever the assassinating the King must needs appear, yet a foreign conquest was worse, it was assassinating the kingdom: and, therefore, the inviting and contriving that, must be the blackest of crimes. But, as the importance of the matter ought to be equal to such an unusual way of proceeding, so the certainty of the facts ought to be such, that if the defects in legal proofs, are to be supplied, yet this ought to be done upon such grounds, as make the fact charged appear so evidently true, that though a court of law could not proceed upon it, yet no man could raise in himself a doubt concerning it. Anciently, treason was judged, as felony still is, upon such presumptions as satisfied the jury: the law has now limited this to two witnesses brought face to face; but the parliament may still take that liberty, which is denied to inferior courts, of judging this matter, as an ordinary jury does in a case of felony. In the present case, there was one witness, *viva voce*, upon whose testimony several persons had been condemned, and had suffered; and these, neither at

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The grounds upon which such a bill was necessary and just.

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their trial, nor at their death, disproved or denied any circumstance of his depositions. If he had been too much a libertine in the course of his life, that did not destroy his credit as a witness : in the first trial, this might have made him a doubtful witness ; but what had happened since, had destroyed the possibility even of suspecting his evidence : a party had been in interest concerned to inquire into his whole life, and in the present case had full time for it ; and every circumstance of his deposition had been examined ; and yet nothing was discovered that could so much as create a doubt ; all was still untouched, sound, and true. The only circumstance in which the dying speeches of those who suffered on his evidence, seemed to contradict him, was concerning King James's commission : yet, none of them denied really what Porter had deposed, which was, that Charnock told him, that there was a commission, come from King James, for attacking the Prince of Orange's guards : they only denied, that there was a commission for assassinating him. Sir John Friend, and Sir William Perkins, were condemned for the consultation now given in evidence against Fenwick : they died, not denying it ; on the contrary, they justified all they had done : it could not be supposed, that, if there had been a tittle in the evidence that was false, they should both have been so far wanting to themselves, and to their friends, who were to be tried upon the same evidence, as not to have declared it in the solemnest manner : these things were more undeniably certain, than the evidence of ten witnesses could possibly be. Witnesses might conspire to swear a falsehood ; but, in this case, the circumstances took away the possibility of a doubt ; and, therefore, the parliament, without taking any notice of Goodman's evidence, might well judge Fenwick guilty, for no man could doubt of it in his own mind.

The ancient Romans were very jealous of their liberty ; but how exact soever they might be in ordinary cases, yet, when any of their citizens seemed to have a design of making himself king, they either created a dictator to suppress or destroy him, or else the people proceeded against him in a summary way. By the Portian law, no citizen could be put to death for any crime whatsoever ; yet such regard did the Romans pay to justice, even above law, that, when the Campanian legion had perfidiously broke in upon Rhe-

gium, and pillaged it, they put them all to death for it. In the famous case of Cataline's conspiracy, as the evidence was clear, and the danger extreme, the accomplices in it were executed, notwithstanding the Portian law: and this was done by the order of the senate, without either hearing them make their own defence, or admitting them to claim the right, which the Valerian law gave them, of an appeal to the people: yet that whole proceeding was chiefly directed by the two greatest asserters of public liberty that ever lived, Cato and Cicero; and Cæsar, who opposed it, on pretence of its being against the Portian law, was for that reason suspected of being in the conspiracy: it appeared, afterwards, how little regard he had, either to law or liberty; though, upon this occasion, he made use of the one, to protect those who were in a plot against the other: this expression was much resented by those, who were against this bill, as carrying a bitter reflection upon them for opposing it.

In conclusion, the bill passed by a small majority of only seven in the House of Lords; the royal assent was soon given to it. Fenwick then made all possible applications to the King for a reprieve; and, as a main ground for that, and as an article of merit, related how he had saved the King's life, two years before, as was already told in the beginning of the year 1695: but, as this fact could not be proved, so it could confer no obligation on the King, since he had given him no warning of his danger; and, according to his own story, had trusted the conspirators' words very easily, when they promised to pursue their design no farther, which he had no reason to do: so that this pretension was not much considered; but he was pressed to make a full discovery, and for some days, he seemed to be in some suspense, what course to take: he desired to be secured, that nothing which he confessed should turn to his own prejudice. The House of Lords sent an address to the King, intreating, that they might be at liberty to make him this promise; and that was readily granted: he then farther desired, that, upon his making a full confession, he might be assured of a pardon, without being obliged to become a witness against any other person: to this, the Lords answered, that he had to do with men of honour, and that he must trust to their discretion; that they would mediate for

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The bill  
passed.

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him with the King, in proportion as they should find his discoveries sincere and important: his behaviour to the King hitherto, had not been such, as to induce the Lords to trust to his candour; it was much more reasonable, that he should trust to them. Upon this, all hopes of any discoveries from him were laid aside; but a matter of another nature broke out, which, but for its singular circumstances, scarce deserves to be mentioned.

Practices  
against the  
Duke of  
Shrews-  
bury.

There was one Smith, a nephew of Sir William Perkins; who had for some time been in treaty at the Duke of Shrewsbury's office, pretending that he could make great discoveries, and that he knew all the motions and designs of the jacobites; he sent many dark and ambiguous letters to that Duke's under secretary, which were more properly to be called amusements than discoveries, for he only gave hints and scraps of stories; but he had got a promise not to be made a witness, and yet he never offered any other witness, nor told where any of those he informed against were lodged, or how they might be taken: he was always asking more money, and bragging what he could do if he were well supplied, and he seemed to think he never had enough: indeed, before the conspiracy broke out, he had given such hints, that when it was discovered, it appeared, he must have known much more of it than he thought fit to tell. One letter he wrote, two days before it was intended to have been put in execution, shewed, he must have been let into the secret very far (if this was not an artifice to lay the court more asleep), for he said, that as things ripened and came near execution, he should certainly know them better: it was not improbable, that he himself was one of the five, whom Perkins undertook to furnish, for assisting in the assassination; and that he hoped to have saved himself by this pretended discovery, in case the plot miscarried. The Duke of Shrewsbury acquainted the King with his discoveries; but nothing could then be made either of them or of him. When the whole plot was unravelled, it then was manifest from his letters, that he must have known more of it than he would own: but he still claimed the promise before made him, that he should not be a witness: upon the whole, therefore, he rather deserved a severe punishment, than any of those rewards which he pretended to: he was accordingly dismissed

by the Duke of Shrewsbury; who thought, that even this suspicious behaviour of his did not release him from keeping the promises he had made him. Smith, thereupon, went to the Earl of Monmouth, and possessed him with bad impressions of the Duke of Shrewsbury, and found him much inclined to entertain them. He told him, that he had made great discoveries, of which that Duke would take no notice; and, because the Duke's ill health had obliged him to go into the country, two days before the assassination was intended, he put this construction upon it, that he was willing to be out of the way, when the King was to be murdered. To fix this imputation, he shewed him the copies of all his letters; all of which, but the last more especially, had the face of a great discovery. The Lord Monmouth carried this to court, and it made such an impression there, that the Earl of Portland sent Smith money, and entertained him as a spy, but never could by his means learn any one real piece of intelligence. When this happened, the King was just going beyond sea; so Smith's letters were taken, and sealed up by the King's order, and left in the hands of Sir William Trumball, who was the other secretary of state. This matter lay quiet, till Fenwick began to make discoveries; and, when Lord Monmouth understood, that he had not named himself (about which he expressed too vehement a concern), but that he had named Lord Shrewsbury, it was said, that he entered into a negotiation with the Dutchess of Norfolk, that she should, by Fenwick's lady, encourage him to persist in his discoveries; and that he dictated some papers to the Dutchess, that should be offered to him as an additional one; in which many little stories were related which had been told the King, and might be believed by him; and by these the King might have been disposed to believe the rest of Fenwick's paper: and the whole ended in some discoveries concerning Smith, which would naturally occasion his letters to be called for, and then they would probably have had great effect. The Dutchess of Norfolk declared, that he had dictated all these schemes of his to her, who copied them, and handed them to Fenwick; and that he had left one paper with her; it was short, but contained an abstract of the whole design, and referred to a larger one, which he had only dictated to her. The Dutchess said, she had placed

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a gentlewoman, who carried her messages to Fenwick's lady, to over-hear all that passed, so that she both had another witness to support the truth of what she related, and a paper left by him with her. She said, that Fenwick would not be guided by him; and said, he would not meddle with contrived discoveries: that, thereupon, this Lord was highly provoked. He said, if Fenwick would follow his advice, he would certainly save him; but if he would not, he would get the bill to pass; and, indeed, when that matter was depending, he spoke two full hours in the House of Lords, in favour of the bill, with a peculiar vehemence. Fenwick's lady being much provoked at this, got her nephew, the Earl of Carlisle, to move the Lords, that Fenwick might be examined, concerning any advices that had been sent him, with relation to his discoveries: and, upon this, Fenwick told what his lady had brought him, and thereupon the Dutchess of Norfolk, and her confidant, were likewise interrogated, and gave the account which I have related. In conclusion, Smith's letters were read, and he himself was examined. This held the Lords several days; for the Earl of Portland, by the King's orders, produced all Smith's papers. By them it appeared, that he was a very insignificant spy, who was always insisting in his old strain of asking money, and taking no care to deserve it. The Earl of Monmouth was, upon the accusation and evidence above mentioned, sent to the Tower, and turned out of all his employments. But the court had no mind to have the matter farther examined into; for the King spoke to myself to do all I could to soften his censure, which he afterwards acknowledged I had done. I did not know what new scheme of confusion might have been opened by him in his own excuse. The House of Lords was much set against him, and seemed resolved to go great lengths: to allay that heat, I put them in mind, that he set the Revolution first on foot, and was a great promoter of it, coming twice over to Holland to that end: I then moved, that he should be sent to the Tower: this was agreed to, and he lay there till the end of the session, and was removed from all his places; but that loss, as was believed, was secretly made up to him, for the court was resolved not to lose him quite.

Fenwick's  
execution.

Fenwick seeing no hope was left, prepared himself to

die; he desired the assistance of one of the deprived bishops, which was not easily granted: but in that, and in several other matters, I did him such service, that he wrote me a letter of thanks upon it. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, and died very composed, in a much better temper than was to be expected; for his life had been very irregular. At the place of his execution, he delivered a paper in writing, wherein he did not deny the facts \* that

\* A late voluminous writer, who seems to mistake an old newspaper for a history, a great lover of liberty and truth, as he is pleased to call himself in his title-page, has thought fit to charge the Bishop with a solemn lie upon this occasion, for saying, that Fenwick, in the paper he delivered to the sheriffs, did not deny the facts sworn against him. Upon this he tells you, the paper is extant, but does not tell you where, nor upon what authority he avers that to be the paper delivered to the sheriffs; which any reader would expect from a writer, even of the highest character, who, fifty years after a fact, took upon him to contradict another writer as to that fact which happened at the time when he wrote. But, to convince the world that this historian (as he is pleased to style himself) has as little common sense as he has decency, he has published such a paper as, if it is authentic, absolutely confirms the Bishop's assertion. For the charge on Fenwick is, the being present at a meeting, and there concurring to an invitation of King James to invade this nation. What is his denial? "I call God to witness, I went not to that meeting in Leadenhall Street with any such intention as to invite King James by force to invade this nation; nor was I myself provided with either horse or arms, or engaged for any number of men, or gave particular consent to any such invasion as is most falsely sworn against me." Now, who is it that, upon reading this, does not discern, that here is a denial of some circumstances sworn against him, but no denial of any one fact. For, whether he went to the meeting with an intention to invite King James or not, or to invite him to invade the nation by force or only by a few from abroad, who might trust to a greater strength at home; yet, here is no denial that he was at the meeting, where it was agreed to invite King James to invade this nation; nor is there any denial that he consented to this invitation, but only that he gave no particular consent for any such invasion; which rather implies, that he did give a general consent

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had been sworn against him, but complained of the injustice of the procedure, and left his thanks to those who had voted against the bill. He owned his loyalty to King James, and to the Prince of Wales after him; but mentioned the design of assassinating King William, in terms full of horror. The paper was supposed to have been drawn by Bishop White, and the jacobites were much provoked with the paragraph last mentioned. This was the conclusion of that unacceptable affair, in which I had a much larger share than might seem to become a man of my profession. But the House of Lords, by severe votes, obliged all the peers to be present, and to give their votes in the matter. Since I was, therefore, convinced, that he was guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and that such a method of proceeding was not only lawful, but in some cases necessary; and since, by the search I made into attainders and parliamentary proceedings, when I wrote the History of the Reformation, I had seen further into those matters, than otherwise I should ever have done; I thought it was incumbent on me, when my opinion determined me to the severer side, to offer what reasons occurred to me, in justification of my vote. But this did not exempt me from falling under a great load of censure upon this occasion.

Affairs in  
Flanders.

As soon as the business of the session of parliament was at an end, the King went beyond sea: the summer passed over very quietly in England, for the jacobites were now humble and silent. The French were resolved to have peace at any rate, by the end of the year: they, therefore, studied to push matters as far as possible, during this campaign, that they might obtain the better terms, and that their King might still, to outward appearance, maintain a superiority in the field, as if nothing could stand before him, and from thence might indulge his vanity in boasting, that, notwithstanding all his successes, he was willing to sacrifice his own advantages to the quiet of Europe. The campaign was opened with the siege of Aeth: the place was ill furnished, and the bad state both of our coin and credit, set the King's preparations so far back, that he could not come in time to

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to an invasion by force. This specimen of this writer's judgment, decency, and veracity, will be sufficient to excuse me from taking any further pains to confute his many attacks upon this History.



relieve it. From thence, the French were advancing towards Brussels, on design either to take or bombard it. But the King, by a very happy diligence preventing them, possessed himself of an advantageous camp, about three hours before the French could reach it; by which they were wholly incapacitated to execute their design. After this, there was no more action in Flanders all the summer; the rest of the time was spent in negotiation.

The French were more successful in Catalonia: they sent an army against Barcelona, commanded by the Duke of Vendome, and their fleet came to his assistance: the garrison was under the command of a prince of Hesse, who had served in the King's army, and, upon changing his religion, was now at the head of the German troops that were sent into Spain. The Viceroy, (whether by a fate common to all the Spaniards, or from a jealousy, that the whole honour would accrue to a stranger, if the place should hold out) so entirely neglected to do his part, that he was surprised, and his small army was routed. The town was large and ill fortified, yet it held out two months after the trenches were opened; so that time was given to the Spaniards, sufficient to have brought relief from the furthest corner of Spain. Nothing had happened, during the whole course of the war, that did more evidently demonstrate the feebleness into which that monarchy was fallen; for no relief was sent to Barcelona, so that they were forced to capitulate. By this, the French gained a great point: hitherto the Spaniards, who contributed the least towards carrying on the war, were the most backward to all overtures of peace: they had felt little of the miseries of war, and thought themselves out of its reach: but now, France being master of so important a place, which cut off all their communication with Italy, they became as earnest for peace, as they had hitherto been averse from it.

Nor was this all their danger: a squadron had been sent, at the same time, to seize on the plate fleet in the West Indies: the King ordered a squadron, which he had lying at Cadiz, to sail after them, and assist the Spaniards. The French, finding that the galleons were already got to the Havannah, where they could not attack them, sailed to Carthagena, which was in no condition to resist them. The plate had all been sent away, before they came thither

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Barcelona  
taken by the  
French.

A French  
squadron in  
the West  
Indies.

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but they landed and pillaged the place, and then gave it out, that they had found many millions there, which at first seemed incredible, and was afterwards known to be false: yet it was confidently asserted, at that time, to cover the reproach of having miscarried in the attempt, on which they had raised great expectations, and to which many undertakers had been drawn in. Our squadron was much superior to theirs, yet never engaged them: once, indeed, they came up to the French, and had some advantage over them, but did not pursue it. The French sailed to the north, towards Newfoundland, where we had another squadron lying, which was sent with some land forces to recover Hudson's Bay: these ships might have fallen upon the French, and would probably have mastered them: but, as they had no certain account of their strength, so, being sent out upon another service, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them: so the French got safe home, and the conduct of our affairs at sea was much censured: yet our Admiralty declared themselves satisfied with the account the commanders gave of their proceedings. But that board was accused of much partiality: on all such occasions, the unfortunate must expect to be blamed; and, to outward appearance, there was much room given, either to censure the orders, or the execution of them. The King owned he did not understand those matters; and Russel, now made Earl of Orford, had both the Admiralty and the Navy Board in a great dependence on himself; so that he was considered almost as much as if he had been Lord High Admiral. He was too much in the power of those in whom he confided, and trusted them too far: and it was generally believed, that there was much corruption, as it was certain there was much faction, if not treachery, in the conduct of our marine. Our miscarriages made all people cry, that we must have a peace, for we could not manage the war to any good purpose; since, notwithstanding our great superiority at sea, the French conducted their matters so much better than us, that we were losers, even in that element, where we used to triumph most. Our squadron in the Bay of Mexico did very little service; they only robbed and destroyed some of the French colonies; and that sent to Hudson's Bay, found it quite abandoned by the French; so that both returned home inglorious.

A great change of affairs happened this year in Poland: their King, John Sobieski, after he had long outlived the fame he had got by raising the siege of Vienna, died at last under a general contempt. He was going backwards and forwards, as his Queen's negotiations in the court of France were entertained or rejected: his government was so feeble and disjointed at home, that all their diets broke up upon preliminaries, before they could, according to their forms, enter upon business: he was set on heaping up wealth, which seemed necessary to give his son an interest in the succeeding election. And upon his death, a great party appeared for him, notwithstanding the general aversion to the mother: but the Polish nobility resolved to make no haste with their election: they plainly set the crown to sale, and encouraged all candidates that would bid for it: one party declared for the Prince of Conti, of which their primate, then a cardinal, was the head: the Emperor did all he could to support the late King's son; but, when he saw the French party were too strong for him, he was willing to join with any other pretender.

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The King of  
Poland's  
death.

The Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Baden, and Don Livio Odeschalchi, Pope Innocent's nephew, were all named: but these, not being likely to succeed, a negotiation was secretly managed with the Elector of Saxony, which succeeded so well, that he was prevailed on to change his religion, to advance his troops towards the frontier of Poland, to distribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, and to promise to confirm all their privileges, and, in particular, to undertake the siege of Caminieck. He consented to all this, and declared himself a candidate a very few days before the election; and so he was set up by the imperialists, in opposition to the French party: his party became quickly so strong, that, though upon the first appearance at the election, while every one of the competitors was trying his strength, the French party was the strongest, and was so declared by the Cardinal; yet, when the other pretenders saw that they could not carry the election for themselves, they united in opposition to the French interest, and gave over all their voices to the Elector of Saxony, by which his party became much the strongest; so he was proclaimed the elected king. The Cardinal gave notice to the court of France, of what had been done in fa-

The Elector  
of Saxony  
chosen King  
of Poland.

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vour of the Prince of Conti; and desired, that he might be sent quickly thither, well furnished with arms and ammunition, but chiefly with money. But the party for Saxony made more dispatch; that Elector lay nearer, and had both his money and troops ready, so he took the oaths that were required, and got the change of his religion to be attested by the imperial court; he made all the haste he could with his army to Cracow, and he was soon after crowned, to the great joy of the imperial party, but the inexpressible trouble of all his subjects in Saxony.

The secular men there saw, that the supporting this elective crown would ruin his hereditary dominions: and those who laid the concerns of the protestant religion to heart, were much more troubled when they saw that house, under whose protection their religion grew up at first, now fall off to popery. It is true, the present family, ever since Maurice's time, had shewed very little zeal in that cause: the elected king had so small a share of religion in himself, that little was to be expected from him: nor was it much apprehended that he would become a bigot, or turn a persecutor: but such was the eagerness of the popish clergy towards the suppressing what they call heresy, and the perpetual jealousies with which, therefore, they would possess the Poles, were like to be such, in case he used no violence towards his Saxon subjects, as possibly might have great effects on him: so that it is no wonder, if they were struck with a general consternation upon his revolt. His Electoress, though a very young person, descended of the house of Brandenburg, expressed so extraordinary a measure of zeal and piety upon this occasion, that it contributed much to the present quieting of their fears. The new King sent a popish stadtholder to Dresden, but so weak a man, that there was no reason to apprehend much from any conduct of his. He also sent them all the assurances that could be given in words, that he would make no change among them, nor has he hitherto made any steps towards it.

The Czar  
travelled to  
Holland and  
England.

A very unusual accident happened at this time, that served not a little to his quiet establishment on the throne of Poland: the Czar was so sensible of the defects of his education, that, in order to the correcting these, he resolved to go a little into the world for better information: he was

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forming great designs; he intended to make a navigable canal between the Volga and the Tanais, by which he might carry both materials and provisions for a fleet to Azuph; and when that communication was opened, he apprehended great things might be done afterwards. He, therefore, intended to see the fleets of Holland and England, and to make himself as much master of that matter as his genius could rise up to. He sent an embassy to Holland to regulate some matters of commerce, and to see if they would assist him in the war he was designing against the Turks: when the ambassadors were set out, he settled his affairs in such hands as he trusted most to, and with a small retinue of two or three servants, he secretly followed his ambassadors, and quickly overtook them. He discovered himself first to the Elector of Brandenburg, who was then in Prussia, looking on the dispute that was like to arise in Poland, in which, if a war should follow, he might be forced to have a share. The Czar concerned himself much in the matter, not only by reason of the neighbourhood, but because he feared, that, if the French party should prevail, France being in an alliance with the Turk, a king sent from thence would probably not only make a peace with the Turk, but turn his arms against himself, which would hinder all his designs for a great fleet. The French party was strongest in Lithuania: therefore, the Czar sent orders to his generals, to bring a great army to the frontier of that dutchy, to be ready to break into it, if a war should begin in Poland: and we were told, that the terror of this had a great effect. From Prussia, the Czar went into Holland, and thence came over to England; therefore, I will refer all that I shall say concerning him to the time of his leaving England.

A fleet was ordered at Dunkirk to carry the Prince of Conti to Poland: a squadron of ours, that lay before that port, kept him in for some time: at last he got out and sailed to Dantzic: but that city had declared for the new King, so they would not suffer him to land with all those that had come with him; they only consented to suffer himself to land, with a small retinue: this, he thought, would not become him; so he landed at Marienbourg, where he was met by some of the chief of his party: they pressed him to distribute the money that he had brought from

The Prince  
of Conti  
sailed to  
Dantzic.

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France among them; and promised to return quickly to him with a great force: but he was limited by his instructions, and would see a good force before he would part with his treasure. The new King sent some troops to disperse those who were coming together to serve him, and these had once almost seized on the Prince himself; but he acted after that with great caution, and would not trust the Poles. He saw no appearance of any force like to be brought to him equal to the undertaking, and fearing lest, if he stayed too long, he should be frozen up in the Baltic, he came back to Dunkirk. The Cardinal stood out still: the court of Rome rejoiced at the pretended conversion of the new King, and owned him: but he quickly saw such a scene of difficulties, that he had reason to repent his embarking himself in such a dangerous undertaking. This may prove of such importance, both to the political and religious concerns of Europe, that I thought it deserved that a particular mention should be made of it, though it lies at a great distance from us: it had some influence in disposing the French now to be more earnest for a peace; for, if they had got a King of Poland in their dependance, that would have given them a great interest in the northern parts, with an easier access, both to assist the Turks and the malecontents in Hungary.

The treaty  
of Ryswick.

The negotiation for a peace was held at Ryswick, a house of the King's, between the Hague and Delft. The chief of our plenipotentiaries was the Earl of Pembroke, a man of eminent virtue, and of great and profound learning, particularly in the mathematics. This made him a little too speculative and abstracted in his notions: he had great application, but he lived a little too much out of the world, though in a public station: a little more practice among men would give him the last finishing. There was somewhat in his person and manner that created him an universal respect; for we had no man among us whom all sides loved and honoured so much as they did him. There were two others joined with him in that embassy.

The King  
of Sweden's  
death.  
His son is  
mediator at  
the treaty  
of Ryswick.

The King of Sweden was received as mediator, but he died before any progress was made in the treaty: his son, who succeeded him in his throne, was also received to succeed him in the mediation. The father was a rough and boisterous man; he loved fatigue, and was free from vice;

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he reduced his kingdom to a military state, and was ever going round it, to see how his troops were ordered, and his discipline observed; he looked narrowly into the whole administration; he had quite altered the constitution of his kingdom; it was formerly changed from being an elective, to be an hereditary kingdom; yet, till his time, it had continued to be rather an aristocracy than a monarchy: but he got the power of the senators to be quite taken away, so that it was left free to him to make use of such counselors as he should choose. The senators had enriched themselves and oppressed the people; they had devoured the revenues of the crown; and in two reigns, in which the sovereign was long in a state of infancy, both in Queen Christina's and in the King's time, the senators had taken care of themselves, and had stripped the crown. So the King moved for a general resumption; and this he obtained easily of the states, who, as they envied the wealth of the senators, so they hoped, that, by making the King rich, the people would be less charged with taxes. This was not all: he got likewise an act of revision, by which those who had grants were to account for the mean profits, and this was applied even to those who had grants upon valuable considerations; for, when it appeared that the valuable consideration was satisfied, they were to account for all they had received over and above that, and to repay this, with the interest of the money at twelve per cent. for all the years they had enjoyed it. This brought a great debt on all the senators and other families of the kingdom; it did utterly ruin them and left them at mercy; and, when the King took from them all they had, he kept them still in a dependance upon him, giving them employments in the army or militia that he set up.

After that, he procured of the states of his kingdom an absolute authority to govern them as he thought fit, and according to law: but even this limitation seemed uneasy, and their slavery was finished by another act, which he obtained, that he should not be obliged to govern by law, but by his mere will and pleasure. So successful was he, in the space of five years, to ruin all the families in his kingdom, and to destroy their laws and liberties, and that by their own consent. He died when his son was but fifteen years old, and gave great hopes of being an active, war-

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like, and indefatigable prince, which his reign ever since has demonstrated to the world.

The first act of his reign was the mediation at Ryswick, where the treaty went on but slowly, till Harlay, the first of the French plenipotentiaries, came to the Hague, who, as was believed, had the secret. He shewed a fairer inclination, than had appeared in the others, to treat frankly and honourably; and to clear all the difficulties that had been started before: but, while they were negotiating, by exchanging papers, which was a slow method, subject to much delay, and too many exceptions and evasions, the Marshal Boufflers desired a conference with the Earl of Portland, and, by order of their masters, they met four times, and were long alone: that Lord told me himself, that the subject of those conferences was concerning King James. The King desired to know, how the King of France intended to dispose of him, and how he could own him, and yet support the other. The King of France would not renounce the protecting him, by any article of the treaty: but it was agreed between them, that the King of France should give him no assistance, nor give the King any disturbance on his account; and that he should retire from the court of France, either to Avignon or to Italy. On the other hand, his Queen should have 50,000*l.* a year, which was her jointure, settled after his death, and that it should now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the nation; and in this, the King very readily acquiesced. These meetings made the treaty go on with more dispatch, this tender point being once settled.

The peace  
was made  
and the  
treaty  
signed.

A new difficulty arose with relation to the empire: the French offered Brizack and Fribourg, as an equivalent for Strasbourg; the Court of Vienna consented to this, but the empire refused it: these places belonged to the Emperor's hereditary dominions, whereas Strasbourg was a free city, as well as a protestant town; so the Emperor was soon brought to accept of the exchange. All other matters were concerted: Spain was now as impatient of delays, as France: England and the states had no other concern in the treaty, but to secure their allies, and to settle a barrier in the Netherlands; so in September the treaty was signed by all, except the German princes: but a set time was prefixed for them to come into it. The Duke of Savoy was comprehended within it; and the princes of the empire, find-



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ing they could struggle no longer, did at last consent to it. A new piece of treachery, against the protestant religion, broke out in the conclusion of all: the French declared, that that part of the palatinate, which was stipulated to be restored in the state in which it was, by virtue of that article, was to continue in the same state, with relation to religion, in which it was at that time: by this, several churches were to be condemned, that otherwise, according to the laws of the empire, and in particular of those dominions, were to be restored to the protestants: the Elector Palatine accepted of the condition very willingly, being bigotted to a high degree: but some of the princes, the King of Sweden in particular, as Duke of Deuxponts, refused to submit to it: but this had been secretly concerted, among the whole popish party, who are always firm to the interests of their religion, and zealous for them; whereas, the protestant courts are too ready to sacrifice the common interest of their religion to their own private advantage. The King was troubled at this treacherous motion, but he saw no inclination in any of the allies to oppose it, with the zeal with which it was pressed on the other hand. The importance of the thing, sixteen churches being only condemned by it, as the Earl of Pembroke told me, was not such as to deserve he should venture a rupture upon it; and it was thought, the Elector Palatine might, on other accounts, be so obnoxious to the protestants, and might need their assistance and protection so much, that he would be obliged afterwards to restore these churches, thus wrested from them: so the King contented himself, with ordering his plenipotentiaries to protest against this, which they did in a formal act that they passed.

The King by this peace concluded the great design of putting a stop to the progress of the French arms, which he had constantly pursued from his first appearance on the stage, in the year 1672. There was not one of the allies who complained that he had been forgot by him, or wronged in the treaty; nor had the desire of having his title universally acknowledged, raised any impatience in him, or made him run into this peace with any indecent haste: the terms of it were still too much to the advantage of France, but the length and charge of the war had so exhausted the allies, that the King saw the necessity of accepting the best con-

Reflections  
on the  
peace.

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ditions that could be got: it is true, France was more harassed by the war; yet the arbitrary frame of that government made their King the master of the whole wealth of his people; and the war was managed on both sides, between them and us, with this visible difference, that every man who dealt with the French King was ruined by it; whereas, among us, every man grew rich by his dealings with the King; and it was not easy to see how this could be either prevented or punished. The regard that is shewn to the members of parliament among us, makes that few abuses can be inquired into or discovered; and the King found his reign grow so unacceptable to his people by the continuance of the war, that he saw the necessity of coming to a peace: the states were under the same pressure, they were heavier charged, and suffered more by the war than the English. The French got indeed nothing by a war which they had most perfidiously begun; they were forced to return to the peace of Nimeguen; Pignerol and Brizack, which Cardinal Richlieu had considered as the keys of Italy and Germany, were now parted with, and all that base practice of claiming so much under the head of re-unions and dependencies was abandoned: the Dutchy of Lorraine was also entirely restored: it was generally thought, that the King of France intended to live out the rest of his days in quiet; for his parting with Barcelona made all people conclude that he did not intend to prosecute the Dauphin's pretensions upon the crown of Spain, after that King's death, by a new war, and that he would only try how to manage it by negotiation.

The most melancholy part of this treaty was, that no advantages were got by it in favour of the protestants in France: the French refugees made all possible applications to the King, and to the other protestant allies; but as they were no part of the cause of the war, so it did not appear that the allies could do more for them, than to recommend them, in the warmest manner, to the King of France; but he was so far engaged in a course of superstition and cruelty, that their condition became worse by the peace; the court was more at leisure to look after them, and to persecute them, than they thought fit to do during the war. The military men in France did generally complain of the peace, as dishonourable and base; the jacobites among us

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were the more confounded at the news of it, because the court of France did, to the last minute, assure King James that they would never abandon his interests; and his Queen sent over assurances to their party here, that England would be left out of the treaty, and put to maintain the war alone; of which they were so confident, that they entered into deep wagers upon it, a practice little known among us before the war; but it was carried on, in the progress of it, to a very extravagant degree, so that they were ruined in their fortunes, as well as sunk in their expectations, by the peace. It was said, King James's Queen made a bold repartee to the French King, when he told her the peace was signed: she said, she wished it might be such as should raise his glory, as much as it might settle his repose.

But, while the peace was concluded in these parts, the war between the Emperor and the Turk went on in Hungary; the imperial army was commanded by Prince Eugene, a brother of the Count of Soissons, who, apprehending that he was not like to be so much considered as he thought he might deserve in France, went and served the Emperor, and grew up, in a few years, to be one of the greatest generals of the age.

The Grand Seignior came to command his armies in person, and lay encamped on both sides of the Theisse, having laid a bridge over the river. Prince Eugene marched up to him, and attacked his camp, on the west side of the river, and, after a short dispute, he broke in and was master of the camp, and forced all, who lay on that side, over the river. In this action, many were killed and drowned: he followed them across the Theisse, and gave them a total defeat: most of their janizaries were cut off, and the Prince became master of all their artillery and magazines: the Grand Seignior himself narrowly escaped, with a body of horse, to Belgrade: this was a complete victory, and was the greatest blow the Turks had received in the whole war. At the same time, the Czar was very successful on his side against the Tartarians. The Venetians did little on their part, and the confusions in Poland made that republic but a feeble ally: so that the weight of the war lay wholly on the Emperor. But though he, being now delivered from the war with France, was more at leisure to prosecute this, yet his revenue was so exhausted, that he was willing

The Turk's  
army in  
Hungary  
routed.

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to suffer a treaty to be carried on, by the mediation of England and Holland; and the French, being now no longer concerned to engage the Porte to carry on the war, the Grand Seignior, fearing a revolution upon his ill success, was very glad to hearken to a treaty, which was carried on all this winter, and was finished the next year at Carlowitz, from which place it takes its name.

The peace  
of Carlo-  
witz.

By it, both parties were to keep that of which they were then possessed; and so this long war of Hungary, which had brought both sides by turns very near the last extremities, was concluded by the direction and mediation of the King of England: upon which, I will add a curious observation, that, though it may seem to be out of the laws of history, yet, considering my profession, will I hope be forgiven.

The duration  
of the Turk-  
ish wars.

Dr. Lloyd, the present most learned Bishop of Worcester, who has now, for above twenty years, been studying the Revelations with an amazing diligence and exactness, had, long before this year, said, the peace, between the Turks and the papal Christians, was certainly to be made in the year 1698, which he made out thus: the four angels, mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of the Revelations, that were bound in the river Euphrates, which he expounds to be the captains of the Turkish forces, that till then were subject to the Sultan at Babylon, were to be loosed, or freed from that yoke, and to set up for themselves: and these were prepared, to slay the third part of men, for an hour, a day, a month, and a year: he reckons the year, in St. John, is the Julian year of three hundred and sixty-five days, that is, in the prophetic style, each day a year; a month is thirty of these days; and a day makes one; which, added to the former number, makes three hundred and ninety-six. Now he proves from historians, that Ottoman came; and began his conquests at Prousse, in the year 1302, to which the former number, in which they were to slay the third part of men, being added, it must end in the year 1698: and, though the historians do not mark the hour, or the twelfth part of the day or year, which is a month, that is, the beginning of the destruction the Turks were to make; yet, he is confident, if that is ever known, that the prophecy will be found, even in that, to be punctually accomplished. After this he thinks their time of hurt-

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ing the papal Christians is at an end; they may indeed still do mischief to the Muscovites, or persecute their own Christian subjects, but they can do no hurt to the papalins; and he is so positive in this, that he consents that all his scheme should be laid aside, if the Turk engages in a new war with them; and I must confess, that their refusing now, in a course of three years, to take any advantage from the troubles in Hungary, to begin the war again, though we know they have been much solicited to it, gives, for the present, a confirmation to this learned prelate's exposition of that part of the prophecy.

The King came over to England about the middle of November; and was received by the city of London, in a sort of triumph, with all the magnificence that he would admit. Some progress was made in preparing triumphal arches, but he put a stop to it; he seemed, by a natural modesty, to have contracted an antipathy to all vain shows; which was much increased in him, by what he had heard of the gross excesses of flattery, to which the French have run, beyond the examples of former ages, in honour of their King; who, having shewed too great a pleasure in these, they have been so far pursued, that the wit of that nation has been for some years chiefly employed on these; for they saw that men's fortunes were more certainly advanced, by a new and lively invention in that way, than by any service or merit whatsoever. This, in which that King has seemed to be too much pleased, rendering him contemptible to better judges, gave the King such an aversion to every thing that looked that way, that he scarce bore even with things that were decent and proper.

The King ordered many of his troops to be disbanded soon after the peace: but a stop was put to that, because the French were very slow in evacuating the places that were to be restored by the treaty, and were not beginning to reduce their troops: so, though the King declared what he intended to do, yet he made no haste to execute it, till it should appear how the French intended to govern themselves. The King thought it was absolutely necessary to keep up a considerable land force; he knew the French would still maintain great armies, and that the pretended Prince of Wales would certainly be assisted by them, if England should fall into a feeble and defenceless condition; the King

The King  
came back  
to England.

Consulta-  
tions about  
the standing  
army.

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of Spain was also in such an uncertain state of health, so weak, and so exhausted, that it seemed necessary that England should be in a condition to bar France's invading that empire, and to maintain the rights of the house of Austria. But, though he explained himself thus in general to his ministers, yet he would not descend to particulars, to tell how many he thought necessary, so that they had not authority to declare, what was the lowest number the King insisted on.

The matter  
argued on  
both sides.

Papers were writ on both sides, for and against a standing force; on the one hand, it was pretended, that a standing army was incompatible with public liberty, and, according to the examples of former times, the one must swallow up the other. It was proposed, that the militia might be better modelled and more trained, which, with a good naval force, some thought, would be an effectual security against foreign invasions, as well as it would maintain our laws and liberties at home. On the other side, it was urged, that since all our neighbours were armed, and the most formidable of them all kept up such a mighty force, nothing could give us a real security, but a good body of regular troops; nothing could be made of the militia, chiefly of the horse, but at a vast charge; and if it was well regulated, and well commanded, it would prove a mighty army; but this of the militia was only talked of, to put by the other, for no project was ever proposed to render it more useful: a force at sea might be so shattered, while the enemy kept within their ports (as it actually happened at the Revolution) that this strength might come to be useless, when we should need it most: so that without a considerable land force, it seemed the nation would be too much exposed. The word, "standing army," had an odious sound in English ears; so the popularity lay on the other side; and the King's ministers suffered generally in the good characters they had hitherto maintained, because they studied to stop the tide, that run so strong the other way.

A session of  
parliament.

At the opening the session of parliament, the King told them, that, in his opinion, a standing land force was necessary: the House of Commons carried the jealousy of a standing army so high, that they would not bear the motion, nor did they like the way the King took of offering them his opinion in the point: this seemed a prescription to them, and might bias some in the counsels they were to offer the

King, and be a bar to the freedom of debate. The managers for the court had no orders to name any number; so the house came to a resolution of paying off and disbanding all the forces that had been raised since the year 1680: this vote brought the army to be less than eight thousand. The court was struck with this; and then they tried, by an after-game, to raise the number to fifteen thousand horse and foot. If this had been proposed in time, it would probably have been carried without any difficulty; but the King was so long upon the reserve, that now, when he thought fit to speak out his mind, he found it was too late; so a force, not exceeding ten thousand horse and foot, was all that the house could be brought to. This gave the King the greatest distaste of any thing that had befallen him in his whole reign; he thought it would derogate much from him, and render his alliance so inconsiderable, that he doubted whether he could carry on the government, after it should be reduced to so weak and so contemptible a state. He said, that if he could have imagined, that after all the service he should have done the nation, he should have met with such returns, he would never have meddled in our affairs; and that he was weary of governing a nation, that was so jealous as to lay itself open to an enemy, rather than trust him, who had acted so faithfully during his whole life, that he had never once deceived those who trusted him. He said this, with a great deal more to the same purpose, to myself; but he saw the necessity of submitting to that which could not be helped.

During these debates, the Earl of Sunderland had argued with many upon the necessity of keeping up a greater force; this was in so many hands, that he was charged as the author of the counsel, of keeping on foot a standing army: so he was often named in the House of Commons, with many severe reflections, for which there had been but too much occasion given, during the two former reigns. The tories pressed hard upon him, and the whigs were so jealous of him, that he, apprehending that while the former would attack him, the others would defend him faintly, resolved to prevent a public affront, and to retire from the court and from business; not only against the entreaties of his friends, but even the King's earnest desire that he would continue about him. Indeed, upon this occasion,

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A small  
force kept  
up.

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The Earl of  
Sunderland  
retired from  
business.

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his Majesty expressed such a concern and value for him, that the jealousies were increased by the confidence the court saw the King had in him. During the time of his credit, things had been carried on with more spirit and better success than before. He had gained such an ascendant over the King, that he brought him to agree to some things, that few expected he would have yielded to. He managed the public affairs, in both houses, with so much steadiness, and so good a conduct, that he had procured to himself a greater measure of esteem, than he had in any of the former parts of his life; and the feebleness and disjointed state we fell into after he withdrew, contributed not a little to establish the character, which his administration had gained him.

The civil  
list settled  
on the King  
for life.

The parliament went on slowly in fixing the fund for the supplies they had voted: they settled a revenue on the King for life, for the ordinary expense of the government, which was called the civil list; this they carried to 700,000*l.* a year, which was much more than the former Kings of England could apply to those occasions: 600,000*l.* was all that was designed; but it had been promised, at the treaty of Ryswick, that King James, being now as dead to England, his Queen should enjoy her jointure, that was 50,000*l.* a year; and it was intended to settle a court about the Duke of Gloucester, who was then nine years old; so, to enable the King to bear that expense, this large provision was made for the civil list: but, by some great error in the management, though the court never had so much, and never spent so little, yet payments were ill made, and, by some strange consumption, all was wasted.

A new East  
India Com-  
pany.

While the House of Commons was seeking a fund for paying the arrears of the army, and for the expense at sea and land for the next year, a proposition was made for constituting a new East India Company, who should trade with a joint stock, others being admitted in a determinate proportion to a separate trade. The old East India Company opposed this, and offered to advance a sum (but far short of what the public occasions required), for an act of parliament, that should confirm their charters. The projectors of the new company offered 2,000,000*l.* upon the security of a good fund, to pay the interest of their money at eight per cent. Great opposition was made to this; for



the King, upon an address that was made to him by the House of Commons, had granted the old Company a new charter, they being obliged to take in a new subscription of 700,000*l.* to increase their stock and trade. Those empowered by this new charter, were not charged with any malversation: they had been trading under great disadvantages, and with great losses, by reason of the war. It is true, the King had reserved a power to himself, by a clause in the charter, to dissolve them, upon warning given three years before such dissolution: so it was said, that no injustice was done them, if public notice should be given of such an intended dissolution. To this it was answered, that the clause, reserving that power, was put in many charters, but that it was considered only as a threatening, obliging them to a good conduct; but that it was not ordinary to dissolve a company, by virtue of such a clause, when no error or malversation was objected. The old Company came at last to offer the whole sum that was wanted; but the party was now formed, so they came too late, and this had no other effect, but to raise a clamour against this proceeding, as extremely rigorous, if not unjust. This threw the old Company, and all concerned in it, into the hands of the tories, and made a great breach and disjoining in the city of London: and it is certain, that this act, together with the inclinations which those of the whigs, who were in good posts, had expressed for keeping up a greater land force, did contribute to the blasting the reputation they had hitherto maintained, of being good patriots, and was made use of, over England, by the tories, to disgrace both the King and them. To this another charge of a high nature was added, that they robbed the public, and applied much of the money, that was given for the service of the nation, both to the supporting a vast expense, and to the raising great estates to themselves: this was sensible to the people, who were uneasy under heavy taxes, and were too ready to believe, that, according to the practice in King Charles's time, a great deal of the money that was given in parliament, was divided among those who gave it. These clamours were raised and managed with great dexterity, by those who intended to render the King, and all who were best affected to him, so odious to the nation, that by this means they might carry such an

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The whigs  
lose their  
credit in the  
nation.

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election of a new House of Commons, as that by it all might be overturned. It was said, that the Bank of England, and the new East India Company, being in the hands of whigs, they would have the command of all the money, and, by consequence, of all the trade of England; so a great party was raised against the new Company in both houses; but the act for it was carried. The King was very indifferent in the matter at first; but the greatness of the sum that was wanted, which could not probably be raised by any other project, prevailed on him; the interests of princes carrying them often to act against their private opinions and inclinations.

The King of  
Spain's ill  
state of  
health.

Before the King went into Holland, which was in July, news came from Spain, that their King was dying: this alarm was often given before, but it came much quicker now. The French, upon this, sent a fleet to lie before Cadiz, which came thither at the time that the galleons were expected home from the West Indies; and it was apprehended, that, if the King had died, they would have seized on all that treasure. We sent a fleet thither to secure them, but it came too late to have done any service, if it had been needed; this was much censured, but the Admiralty excused themselves, by saying, that the parliament was so late in fixing the funds for the fleet, that it was not possible to be ready sooner than they were: the King of Spain recovered for that time, but it was so far from any entire recovery, that a relapse was still apprehended. When the King went to Holland, he left some sealed orders behind him, of which, some of his ministers told me, they knew not the contents till they were opened: by these, the King ordered sixteen thousand men to be kept up; for excusing this, it was said, that though the parliament had, in their votes, mentioned only ten thousand landmen, to whom they had afterwards added three thousand marines, and had raised only the money necessary for that number, yet no determined number was mentioned in the act itself; so, since the apprehension of the King of Spain's death made it advisable to have a greater force ready for such an accident, the King resolved to keep up a force somewhat beyond that which the House of Commons had consented to: the leaving these orders sealed, made the whole blame to be cast singly on the King, as it screened the ministers

from a share in this counsel : and we have more than once known ministers put the advices, that they themselves gave, in such a manner on their masters, that, in executing them, our kings have taken more care to shelter their ministers, than to preserve themselves.

The King, before his leaving England, settled a household about the Duke of Gloucester: the Earl of Marlborough, who was restored to favour, was made his governor, and I was named by the King to be his preceptor. I used all possible endeavours to excuse myself; I had hitherto no share in the Princess's favour or confidence; I was also become uneasy at some things in the King's conduct; I considered him as a glorious instrument, raised up by God, who had done great things by him; I had also such obligations to him, that I had resolved, on public as well as on private accounts, never to engage in any opposition to him, and yet I could not help thinking he might have carried matters further than he did, and that he was giving his enemies handles to weaken his government. I had tried, but with little success, to use all due freedom with him: he did not love to be found fault with: and though he bore every thing that I said very gently, yet he either discouraged me with silence, or answered in such general expressions, that they signified little or nothing. These considerations disposed me, rather to retire from the court and town, than to engage deeper in such a constant attendance, for so many years as this employment might run out to: the King made it indeed easy in one respect; for, as the young Prince was to be all the summer at Windsor, which was in my diocese, so he allowed me ten weeks in the year for the other parts of my diocese. All my endeavours to decline this were without effect; the King would trust that care only to me, and the Princess gave me such encouragement, that I resolved, not only to submit to this, which seemed to come from a direction of Providence, but to give myself wholly up to it. I took to my own province, the reading and explaining the Scriptures to him, the instructing him in the principles of religion, and the rules of virtue, and the giving him a view of history, geography, politics, and government: I resolved also to look very exactly to all the masters that were appointed to teach him other things. But now I turn to give an account of some

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The Duke of Gloucester put in a method of education.

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things that more immediately belong to my own profession.

The progress of Socinianism.

This year Thomas Firmin, a famous citizen of London, died: he was in great esteem for promoting many charitable designs, for looking after the poor of the city, and setting them to work; for raising great sums for schools and hospitals, and, indeed, for charities of all sorts, private and public; he had such credit with the richest citizens, that he had the command of great wealth, as oft as there was occasion for it; and he laid out his own time chiefly in advancing all such designs: these things gained him a great reputation; he was called a Socinian, but was really an Arian, which he very freely owned, before the Revolution; but he gave no public vent to it, as he did afterwards. He studied to promote his opinions, after the Revolution, with much heat; many books were printed against the Trinity, which he dispersed over the nation, distributing them freely to all who would accept of them: profane wits were much delighted with this; it became a common topic of discourse, to treat all mysteries in religion as the contrivances of priests, to bring the world into a blind submission to them; priestcraft grew to be another word in fashion, and the enemies of religion vented all their impieties, under the cover of these words; but, while these pretended much zeal for the government, those who were at work to undermine it made great use of all this: they raised a great outcry against Socinianism, and gave it out that it was like to over-run all; for Archbishop Tillotson, and some of the bishops, had lived in great friendship with Mr. Firmin, whose charitable temper they thought it became them to encourage. Many undertook to write in this controversy: some of these were not fitted for handling such a nice subject. A learned deist made a severe remark on the progress of this dispute; he said, he was sure the divines would be too hard for the Socinians in proving their doctrines out of Scripture; but, if the doctrine could be once laughed at, and rejected as absurd, then its being proved, how well soever, out of Scripture, would turn to be an argument against the Scriptures themselves, as containing such incredible doctrines.

Different explanations

The divines did not go all in the same method, nor upon the same principles. Dr. Sherlock engaged in the contro-

versy: he was a clear, a polite, and a strong writer, and had got great credit in the former reign, by his writings against those of the church of Rome; but he was apt to assume too much to himself, and to treat his adversaries with contempt; this created him many enemies, and made him pass for an insolent haughty man: he was at first a jacobite, and while, for not taking the oaths, he was under suspension, he wrote against the Socinians, in which he took a new method of explaining the Trinity: he thought there were three eternal minds; two of these issuing from the Father, but that these were one, by reason of a mutual consciousness in the three, to every of their thoughts: this was looked on as plain tritheism; but all the party applauded him and his book. Soon after that, an accident of an odd nature happened.

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of the Tri-  
nity.

There was a book drawn up by Bishop Overall, four-score years ago, concerning government, in which its being of a divine institution was very positively asserted: it was read in convocation, and passed by that body in order to the publishing it, in opposition to the principles laid down in that famous book of Parson's, the jesuit, published under the name of Dollman. King James the First did not like a convocation entering into such a theory of politics; so he wrote a long letter to Abbot, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, but was then in the lower house: I had the original, writ all in his own hand, in my possession: by it he desired that no further progress should be made in that matter, and that this book might not be offered to him for his assent. Thus that matter slept; but Sancroft had got Overall's own book into his hands; so, in the beginning of this reign, he resolved to publish it as an authentic declaration, that the church of England had made in this matter; and it was published, as well as licensed, by him a very few days before he came under suspension for not taking the oaths: but there was a paragraph or two in it that they had not considered, which was plainly calculated to justify the owning the United Provinces to be a lawful government; for it was there laid down, that when a change of government was brought to a thorough settlement, it was then to be owned and submitted to as a work of the Providence of God; and a part of King James's letter to Abbot related to this. When Sherlock

Dr. Sher-  
lock left the  
jacobites.

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observed this, he had some conferences with the party, in order to convince them by that, which he said had convinced himself. Soon after that he took the oaths, and was made Dean of St. Paul's. He published an account of the grounds he went on, which drew out many virulent books against him. After that they pursued him with the clamour of tritheism, which was done with much malice, by the very same persons who had highly magnified the performance while he was of their party: so powerful is the bias of interest and passion in the most speculative and the most important doctrines.

Dr. South  
wrote  
against him.

Dr. South, a learned, but an ill-natured divine, who had taken the oaths, but with the reserve of an equivocal sense, which he put on them, attacked Dr. Sherlock's book of the Trinity, not without wit and learning, but without any measure of Christian charity, and without any regard either to the dignity of the subject, or the decencies of his profession. He explained the Trinity in the common method—that the Deity was one essence in three substances: Sherlock replied, and charged this as Sabellianism; and some others went into the dispute with some learning, but with more heat. One preached Sherlock's notion before the University of Oxford, for which he was censured; but Sherlock wrote against that censure with the highest strains of contempt. The Socinians triumphed not a little upon all this; and, in several of their books, they divided their adversaries into real and nominal Trinitarians: Sherlock was put in the first class; as for the second class, they pretended it had been the doctrine of the Western church ever since the time that the fourth council in the Lateran sat. Some, who took advantage from these debates to publish their impieties without fear or shame, rejoiced to see the divines engaged in such subtle questions; and they reckoned, that, which side soever might have the better, in the turn of this controversy, yet, in conclusion, they alone must be the gainers by every dispute that brought such important matters to a doubtfulness, which might end in infidelity at last.

The King's  
injunctions  
silence those  
disputes.

The ill effects that were like to follow on those different explanations, made the bishops move the King to set out injunctions, requiring them to see to the repressing of error and heresy with all possible zeal, more particularly in the

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fundamental articles of the Christian faith; and to watch against and hinder the use of new terms or new explanations in those matters. This put a stop to those debates, as Mr. Firmin's death put a stop to the printing and spreading of Socinian books. Upon all this some angry clergymen, who had not that share of preferment that they thought they deserved, begun to complain that no convocation was suffered to sit, to whom the judging in such points seemed most properly to belong. Books were writ on this head: it was said, that the law made in King Henry the Eighth's time, that limited the power of that body, so that no new canons could be attempted or put in use, without the King's license and consent, did not disable them from sitting: on the contrary, a convocation was held to be a part of the parliament, so that it ought always to attend upon it, and to be ready, when advised with, to give their opinions chiefly in matters of religion. They had also, as these men pretended, a right to prepare articles and canons, and to lay them before the King, who might indeed deny his assent to them, as he did to bills that were offered him by both houses of parliament. This led them to strike at the King's supremacy, and to assert the intrinsic power of the church, which had been disowned by this church ever since the time of the Reformation; and, indeed, the King's supremacy was thought to be carried formerly too high, and that by the same sort of men who were now studying to lay it as low. It seemed, that some men were for maintaining it as long as it was in their management, and that it made for them; but resolved to weaken it all they could as soon as it went out of their hands, and was no more at their discretion. Such a turn do men's interests and partialities give to their opinions.

All this while it was manifest, that there were two different parties among the clergy: one was firm and faithful to the present government, and served it with zeal; these did not envy the dissenters the ease that the toleration gave them; they wished for a favourable opportunity of making such alterations in some few rites and ceremonies as might bring into the church those who were not at too great a distance from it; and I do freely own that I was of this number. Others took the oaths, indeed, and concurred in every act of compliance with the government; but they

Divisions  
among the  
clergy.

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were not only cold in serving it, but were always blaming the administration, and aggravating misfortunes; they expressed a great esteem for jacobites, and in all elections gave their votes for those who leaned that way; at the same time, they shewed great resentments against the dissenters, and were enemies to the toleration, and seemed resolved never to consent to any alteration in their favour. The bulk of the clergy ran this way, so that the moderate party was far outnumbered. Profane minds had too great advantages from this, in reflecting severely on a body of men that took oaths, and performed public devotions, when the rest of their lives was too public and too visible a contradiction to such oaths and prayers.

Divisions  
among the  
papists.

But, while we are thus unhappily disjointed in matters of religion, our neighbours are not so entirely united as they pretend to be: the quietists are said to increase not only in Italy, but in France: the persecution there began at first upon a few Jansenists, but it turned soon to the protestants, on whom it has been long very heavy and bloody: this had put an end to all disputes in these matters: a new controversy has since been managed with great heat, between Bossuet, the famous bishop, first of Condom and now of Meaux, and La Motte Fenelon, who was once in high favour with Madame Maintenon, and was, by her means, made preceptor to the Dauphin's children, and afterwards advanced to be Archbishop of Cambray. He wrote a treatise of spiritual maxims, according to the subtilty, as well as the sublimity, of the writers called the mystics: in it, he distinguished between that which was falsely charged upon them, and that which was truly their doctrine: he put the perfection of a spiritual life, in the loving of God purely for himself, without any regard to ourselves, even to our own salvation: and in our being brought to such a state of indifference, as to have no will nor desire of our own, but to be so perfectly united to the will of God, as to rejoice in the hope of heaven, only because it is the will of God to bring us thither, without any regard to our own happiness. Bossuet wrote so sharply against him, that one is tempted to think, a rivalry for favour and preferment had as great a share in it as zeal for the truth. The matter was sent to Rome: Fenelon had so many authorized and canonized writers of his side, that many



distinctions must be made use of to separate them from him: but the King was much set against him; he put him from his attendance on the young Princess, and sent him to his diocese: his disgrace served to raise his character. Madame Maintenon's violent aversion to a man she so lately raised, was imputed to his not being so tractable as she expected, in persuading the King to own his marriage with her: but that I leave to conjecture. There is a breach running through the Lutheran churches; it appeared at first openly at Hamburgh, where many were going into stricter methods of piety, who from thence were called pietists: there is no difference of opinion between them and the rest, who are most rigid to old forms, and are jealous of all new things, especially of a stricter course of devotion, beyond what they themselves are inclined to practise. There is likewise a spirit of zeal and devotion, and of public charities, sprung at home, beyond what was known among us in former times; of which I may have a good occasion to make mention hereafter.

But to return from this digression. The company in Scotland, this year, set out a fleet, with a colony, on design to settle in America: the secret was better kept than could have been well expected, considering the many hands in which it was lodged: it appeared at last, that the true design had been guessed, from the first motion of it: they landed at Darien, which, by the report that they sent over, was capable of being made a strong place, with a good port. It was no wonder that the Spaniards complained loudly of this: it lay so near Porto Bello and Panama on the one side, and Carthagena on the other, that they could not think they were safe, when such a neighbour came so near the centre of their empire in America: the King of France complained also of this, as an invasion of the Spanish dominions, and offered the court of Madrid a fleet to dislodge them. The Spaniards pressed the King hard upon this: they said, they were once possessed of that place; and though they found it too unhealthy to settle there, yet the right to it belonged still to them: so this was a breach of treaties, and a violent possession of their country. In answer to this, the Scotch pretended, that the natives of Darien were never conquered by the Spaniards, and were by consequence a free people; they said, they had pur-

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The Scotch  
settle at Da-  
rien.

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chased of them leave to possess themselves of that place, and that the Spaniards abandoned the country, because they could not reduce the natives; so the pretension of the first discovery was made void, when they went off from it, not being able to hold it; and then the natives being left to themselves, it was lawful for the Scots to treat with them: it was given out, that there was much gold in the country: certainly the nation was so full of hopes from this project, that they raised a fund for carrying it on, greater than, as was thought, that kingdom could stretch to: 400,000*l.* sterling was subscribed, and a fourth part was paid down, and afterwards, 70,000*l.* more was brought in, and a national fury seemed to have transported the whole kingdom upon this project.

Great disputes about it.

The jacobites went into the management with a particular heat; they saw the King would be much pressed from Spain. The English nation, apprehending that this would be set up as a breach of treaties, and that, upon a rupture, their effects in Spain might be seized, grew also very uneasy at it: upon which it was thought, that the King would in time be forced to disown this invasion, and to declare against it; and, in that case, they hoped to have inflamed the kingdom with this, that the King denied them his protection, while they were only acting according to law; and this, they would have said, was contrary to the coronation oath, and so they would have thought they were freed from their allegiance to him. The jacobites having this prospect, did all that was possible to raise the hopes of the nation to the highest degree: our English plantations grew also very jealous of this new colony; they feared that the double prospect of finding gold, and of robbing the Spaniards, would draw many planters from them into this new settlement, and that the buccaniers might run into them: for, by the Scotch act, this place was to be made a free port, and if it was not ruined before it was well formed, they reckoned it would become a seat of piracy and another Algiers in those parts. Upon these grounds, the English nation inclined to declare against this, and the King seemed convinced that it was an infraction of his treaties with Spain; so orders were sent, but very secretly, to the English plantations, particularly to Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, to forbid all commerce with the Scots at Darien. The Spaniards

made some faint attempts on them, but without success: this was a very great difficulty on the King; he saw how much he was like to be pressed on both hands, and he apprehended what ill consequences were like to follow, on his declaring himself either way.

The parliament of England had now sat its period of three years, in which great things had been done: the whole money of England was recoined, the King was secured in his government, an honourable peace was made, public credit was restored, and the payment of public debts was put on sure and good funds. The chief conduct lay now in a few hands; the Lord Somers was made a Baron of England; and, as he was one of the ablest, and the most incorrupt judges that ever sat in chancery, so his great capacity for all affairs, made the King consider him beyond all his ministers, and he well deserved the confidence that the King expressed for him on all occasions. In the House of Commons, Mr. Mountague had gained such a visible ascendancy over all that were zealous for the King's service, that he gave the law to the rest, which he did always with great spirit, but sometimes with too assuming an air: the fleet was in the Earl of Orford's management, who was both treasurer of the navy, and was at the head of the Admiralty; he had brought in many into the service, who were very zealous for the government, but a spirit of impiety and dissolution ran through too many of them, so that those who intended to cast a load upon the government, had too great advantages given by some of these. The administration at home was otherwise without exception, and no grievances were complained of.

There was a new parliament called, and the elections fell generally on men who were in the interests of the government: many of them had, indeed, some popular notions which they had drank in under a bad government, and thought they ought to keep them under a good one; so that those who wished well to the public, did apprehend great difficulties in managing them. The King himself did not seem to lay this to heart so much as was fitting; he staid long beyond sea; he had made a visit to the Duke of Zell, where he was treated in a most magnificent manner: cross winds hindered his coming over to England so soon as he had intended, upon which the parliament was prorogued

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The present  
ministry's  
good con-  
duct.

A new par-  
liament.

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The forces  
much dimi-  
nished.

for some weeks after the members were come up : even this soured their spirits, and had too great a share in the ill humour that appeared among them.

The King's keeping up an army beyond the votes of the former parliament was much resented, nor was the occasion for doing it enough considered : all this was increased by his own management after he came over. The ministers represented to him, that they could carry the keeping up a land force of ten or twelve thousand, but that they could not carry it further : he said, so small a number was as good as none at all, therefore he would not authorize them to propose it : on the other hand, they thought they should lose their credit with their best friends if they ventured to speak of a greater number : so, when the House of Commons took up the debate, the ministry were silent, and proposed no number ; upon which those, who were in the contrary interest, named seven thousand men ; and to this they added, that they should be all the King's natural born subjects. Both the parts of this vote gave the King great uneasiness ; he seemed not only to lay it much to heart, but to sink under it ; he tried all that was possible to struggle against it when it was too late ; it not being so easy to recover things in an after-game, as it was to have prevented this misunderstanding that was like to arise between him and his parliament. It was surmised, that he was resolved not to pass the bill, but that he would abandon the government, rather than hold it with a force that was too small to preserve and protect it ; yet this was considered only as a threatening, so that little regard was had to it. The act passed with some opposition in the House of Commons : a feeble attempt was made in the House of Lords against it, but it was rather a reproach than a service to the government, it being faintly made and ill supported. The royal assent was given, and when it was hoped that the passing the act had softened people's minds, a new attempt was made for keeping the Dutch guards in England ; but that was rejected, though the King sent a message desiring it.

The party  
opposed the  
King with  
great bitter-  
ness.

In the carrying these points, many hard things were said against the court, and against the King himself : it was suggested, that he loved not the nation ; that he was on the reserve with all Englishmen, and shewed no confidence in

them; but that as soon as the session of parliament was over, he went immediately to Holland; and, they said, this was not to look after the affairs of the states, which had been more excusable; but that he went thither to enjoy a lazy privacy at Loo; where, with a few favourites, he hunted and passed away the summer in a way that did not raise his character much. It is certain the usage he had met with of late, put his spirits too much on the fret; and he neither took care to disguise that, nor to overcome the ill humour, which the manner of his deportment, rather than any just occasion given by him, had raised in many against him. Some, in the House of Commons, began to carry things much farther, and to say, that they were not bound to maintain the votes, and to keep up the credit of the former parliament; and they tried to shake the act, made in favour of the new East India Company: this was so contrary to the fundamental maxims of our constitution, that it gave cause of jealousy, since this could be intended for nothing but to ruin the government; money raised by parliament, upon bargains and conditions that were performed by those who advanced it, gave them such a purchase of those acts, and this was so sacred, that to overturn it must destroy all credit for the future, and no government could be maintained that did not preserve this religiously.

Among other complaints, one made against the court was, that the King had given grants of the confiscated estates in Ireland: it was told before, that a bill being sent up by the Commons, attainting the Irish that had been in arms, and applying their estates to the paying the public debts, leaving only a power to the King to dispose of the third part of them, was like to lie long before the Lords, many petitions being offered against it; upon which the King, to bring the session to a speedy conclusion, had promised that this matter should be kept entire till their next meeting: but the next session going over without any proceeding in it, the King granted away all those confiscations: it being an undoubted branch of the royal prerogative, that all confiscations accrued to the crown, and might be granted away at the pleasure of the King: it was pretended that those estates came to a million and a half in value. Great objections were made to the merits of some who had the largest share in those grants; attempts had been made, in the parliament of Ire-

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A debate  
concerning  
grants of  
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land, to obtain a confirmation of them, but that which Ginkle, who was created Earl of Athlone, had, was only confirmed: now it was become a popular subject of declamation to arraign both the grants, and those who had them: motions had been often made for a general resumption of all the grants made in this reign; but, in answer to this, it was said, that since no such motion was made for a resumption of the grants made in King Charles the Second's reign, notwithstanding the extravagant profusion of them, and the ill grounds upon which they were made, it shewed both a disrespect and a black ingratitude, if, while no other grants were resumed, this King only should be called in question. The court party said often, let the retrospect go back to the year 1660, and they would consent to it, and that which might be got by it would be worth the while. It was answered, this could not be done after so long a time, that so many sales, mortgages, and settlements had been made, pursuant to those grants: so all these attempts came to nothing. But now they fell on a more effectual method. A commission was given, by act of parliament, to seven persons named by the House of Commons, to inquire into the value of the confiscated estates in Ireland so granted away, and into the considerations upon which those grants were made. This passed in this session, and, in the debates, a great alienation discovered itself in many from the King and his government, which had a very ill effect upon all affairs, both at home and abroad. When the time prefixed for the disbanding the army came, it was reduced to seven thousand men; of these four thousand were horse and dragoons, the foot were three thousand; the bodies were also reduced to so small a number of soldiers, that it was said, we had now an army of officers: the new model was much approved of by proper judges, as the best into which so small a number could have been brought. There was, at the same time, a very large provision made for the sea, greater than was thought necessary in a time of peace. Fifteen thousand seamen, with a fleet proportioned to that number, was thought a necessary security, since we were made so weak by land.

The Czar of  
Moscovy in  
England.

I mentioned, in the relation of the former year, the Czar's coming out of his own country; on which I will now enlarge: he came this winter over to England, and staid

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some months among us ; I waited often on him, and was ordered, both by the King and the archbishop and bishops, to attend upon him, and to offer him such informations of our religion and constitution as he was willing to receive : I had good interpreters, so I had much free discourse with him. He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his passion ; he raises his natural heat by drinking much brandy, which he rectifies himself with great application ; he is subject to convulsive motions all over his body, and his head seems to be affected with these ; he wants not capacity, and has a larger measure of knowledge than might be expected from his education, which was very indifferent ; a want of judgment, with an instability of temper, appear in him too often and too evidently ; he is mechanically turned, and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship carpenter than a great prince : this was his chief study and exercise while he staid here : he wrought much with his own hands, and made all about him work at the models of ships : he told me, he designed a great fleet at Azuph, and with it to attack the Turkish empire ; but he did not seem capable of conducting so great a design, though his conduct in his wars since this, has discovered a greater genius in him than appeared at that time. He was disposed to understand our doctrine, but he did not seem desirous to mend matters in Moscovy : he was indeed resolved to encourage learning, and to polish his people, by sending some of them to travel in other countries, and to draw strangers to come and live among them : he seemed apprehensive still of his sister's intrigues : there was a mixture both of passion and severity in his temper : he is resolute, but understands little of war, and seemed not at all inquisitive that way. After I had seen him often, and had conversed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the Providence of God, that had raised up such a furious man to so absolute an authority over so great a part of the world.

David, considering the great things God had made for the use of man, broke out into the meditation, “ What is man, that thou art so mindful of him ? ” But here there is an occasion for reversing these words, since man seems a very contemptible thing in the sight of God, while such a person as the Czar has such multitudes put as it were under

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his feet, exposed to his resistless jealousy and savage temper. He went from hence to the court of Vienna, where he purposed to have staid some time, but he was called home sooner than he had intended, upon a discovery or a suspicion of intrigues managed by his sister: the strangers to whom he trusted most, were so true to him, that those designs were crushed before he came back; but on this occasion, he let loose his fury on all whom he suspected; some hundreds of them were hanged all round Moscow, and it was said that he cut off many heads with his own hand, and so far was he from relenting or shewing any sort of tenderness, that he seemed delighted with it. How long he is to be the scourge of that nation, or of his neighbours, God only knows: so extraordinary an incident will, I hope, justify such a digression.

The affairs  
of Poland.

The King of Poland was not much better thought of by the Poles, though somewhat deeper in his designs; he had given that republic great cause of suspecting that he intended to turn that free and elective state into an hereditary and absolute dominion. Under the pretence of a civil war, like to arise at home on the Prince of Conti's account, and of the war with the Turks, he had brought in an army of Saxons, of whom the Poles were now become so jealous, that if he does not send them home again, probably that kingdom will fall into new wars.

The affairs  
of Sweden.

The young King of Sweden seemed to inherit the roughness of his father's temper, with the piety and the virtues of his mother: his coronation was performed in a particular manner; he took up the crown himself, and set it on his head; the design of this innovation in the ceremonial, seems to be, that he will not have his subjects think that he holds his crown in any respect by their grant or consent, but that it was his own by descent: therefore, no other person was to set it on his head. Whereas, even absolute princes are willing to leave this poor remnant and shadow of a popular election, among the ceremonies of their coronation, since they are crowned upon the desires and shoutings of their people. Thus the two northern crowns, Denmark and Sweden, that were long under great restraints by their constitution, have in our own time, emancipated themselves so entirely, that in their government they have little regard, either to the rules of law, or the decencies of cus-



tom. A little time will shew, whether Poland can be brought to submit to the same absoluteness of government; they who set their crown to sale, in so barefaced a manner, may be supposed ready likewise to sell their liberties, if they can find a merchant, that will come up to their price.

The frequent relapses, and the feeble state of the King of Spain's health, gave the world great alarms. The court of Vienna trusted to their interest in the court of Spain, and in that King himself; the French court was resolved not to let go their pretensions to that succession, without great advantages; the King and the states were not now strong enough to be the umpires in that matter; this made them more easily hearken to propositions, that were set on foot by the court of France; the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was proposed, he being the only issue of the King of Spain's second sister, who was married to the Emperor. Into this, the King, the states, and the Elector of Bavaria entered: the court of Spain agreed to this; and that King, by his will, confirmed his father's will, by which the succession of the crown was settled on the issue of the second daughter, and it was resolved to engage all the grandees and cities of Spain, to maintain the succession, according to this settlement. The house of Austria complained of this, and pretended that, by a long tract of reciprocal settlements, several mutual entails had passed, between those two branches of the house of Austria; the court of France seemed also to complain of it, but they were secretly in it, upon engagements, that the dominions in Italy should fall to their share: but, while these engagements, in favour of the Prince Electoral, were raising great apprehensions every where, that young Prince, who seemed marked out for great things, and who had all the promising beginnings that could be expected in a child of seven years old, fell sick, and was carried off the third or fourth day of his illness; so uncertain are all the prospects, and all the hopes, that this world can give. Now the Dauphin and the Emperor were to dispute, or to divide this succession between them; so a new treaty was set on foot. It was generally given out, and too easily believed, that the King of France was grown weary of war, and was resolved to pass the rest of his days in peace and quiet;

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A treaty for  
the succe-  
sion to the  
crown of  
Spain.

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but that he could not consent to the exaltation of the house of Austria; yet, if that house were set aside, he would yield up the Dauphin's pretensions; and so the Duke of Savoy was much talked of, but it was with the prospect of having his hereditary dominions yielded up to the crown of France: but this great matter came to another digestion a few months after.

The Earl of  
Albemarle's  
favour.

About this time, the King set up a new favourite: Kerpel, a gentleman of Guelder, was raised from being a page, into the highest degree of favour, that any person had ever attained about the King: he was now made Earl of Albemarle, and soon after Knight of the Garter, and by a quick and unaccountable progress, he seemed to have engrossed the royal favour so entirely, that he disposed of every thing, that was in the King's power. He was a cheerful young man, that had the art to please, but was so much given up to his own pleasures, that he could scarce submit to the attendance and drudgery that was necessary to maintain his post. He never had yet distinguished himself in any thing, though the King did it in every thing. He was not cold nor dry, as the Earl of Portland was thought to be; who seemed to have the art of creating many enemies to himself, and not one friend: but the Earl of Albemarle had all the arts of a court, was civil to all, and procured many favours. The Earl of Portland observed the progress of this favour with great uneasiness; they grew to be not only incompatible, as all rivals for favour must needs be, but to hate and oppose one another in every thing; by which the King's affairs suffered much; the one had more of the confidence, and the other much more of the favour; the King had heaped many grants on the Earl of Portland, and had sent him ambassador to France, upon the peace; where he appeared with great magnificence, and at a vast expense, and had many very unusual respects put upon him by that King, and all that court: but upon his return, he could not bear the visible superiority in favour, that the other was grown up to; so he took occasion, from a small preference that was given him, in prejudice of his own post, as Groom of the Stole, and upon it withdrew from the court, and laid down all his employments. The King used all possible means to divert him from this resolution, but without prevailing on him; he consented to serve the King still in his

affairs, but he would not return to any post in the household; and not long after that he was employed in the new negotiation, set on foot for the succession to the crown of Spain.

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This year died the Marquis of Winchester, whom the King had created Duke of Bolton: he was a man of a strange mixture: he had the spleen to a high degree, and affected an extravagant behaviour: for many weeks he would take a conceit not to speak one word; and at other times, he would not open his mouth till such an hour of the day, when he thought the air was pure; he changed the day into night, and often hunted by torch light, and took all sorts of liberties to himself, many of which were very disagreeable to those about him. In the end of King Charles's time, and during King James's reign, he affected an appearance of folly, which afterwards he compared to Junius Brutus's behaviour under the Tarquins. With all this, he was a very knowing, and a very crafty, politic man; and was an artful flatterer, when that was necessary to compass his end, in which generally he was successful: he was a man of a profuse expense, and of a most ravenous avarice to support that; and though he was much hated, yet he carried matters before him with such authority and success, that he was in all respects, the great riddle of the age.

The death  
of the Duke  
of Bolton.

This summer, Sir Josiah Child died: he was a man of great notions as to merchandise, which was his education, and in which he succeeded beyond any man of his time: he applied himself chiefly to the East India trade, which by his management was raised so high, that it drew much envy and jealousy both upon himself and upon the company; he had a compass of knowledge and apprehension, beyond any merchant I ever knew; he was vain and covetous, and thought too cunning, though to me he seemed always sincere.

And of Sir  
Josiah  
Child.

The complaints that the court of France sent to Rome, against the Archbishop of Cambray's book, procured a censure from thence; but he gave such a ready and entire submission to it, that how much soever that may have lessened him, in some men's opinions, yet it quite defeated the designs of his enemies against him: upon this occasion it appeared how much both the clergy of France, and the courts of parliament there, were sunk from that firmness,

The Archbi-  
shop of Cam-  
bray's book  
condemned.

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which they had so long maintained against the encroachment of the court of Rome; not so much as one person of those bodies has set himself to assert those liberties, upon which they had so long valued themselves; the whole clergy submitted to the bull, the King himself received it, and the parliament registered it: we do not yet know, by what methods and practices this was obtained at the court of Rome, nor what are the distinctions, by which they save the doctrine of so many of their saints, while they condemn this Archbishop's book; for it is not easy to perceive a difference between them: from the conclusion of this process at Rome, I turn to another, against a bishop of our own church, that was brought to a sentence and conclusion this summer.

The Bishop  
of St. David's  
deprived for  
simony.

Dr. Watson was promoted by King James to the bishopric of St. David's: it was believed that he gave money for his advancement, and that, in order to the reimbursing himself, he sold most of the spiritual preferments in his gift. By the law and custom of this church, the Archbishop is the only judge of a bishop; but, upon such occasions, he calls for the assistance of some of the bishops: he called for six in this cause; I was one of them. It was proved, that the Bishop had collated a nephew of his to a great many of the best preferments in his gift, and that, for many years, he had taken the whole profits of these to himself, keeping his nephew very poor, and obliging him to perform no part of his duty: it was also proved, that the Bishop obtained leave to keep a benefice, which he held before his promotion, by a commendam (one of the abuses which the popes brought in among us, from which we have not been able hitherto to free our church), that he had sold both the cure and the profits to a clergyman, for a sum of money, and had obliged himself to resign it upon demand; that is, as soon as the clergyman could, by another sum, purchase the next presentation of the patron: these things were fully proved. To these was added a charge of many oppressive fees; which, being taken for benefices that were in his gift, were not only extortion, but a presumptive simony: all these he had taken himself, without making use of a register or actuary; for, as he would not trust those secrets to any other, so he swallowed up the fees, both of his chancellor and register. He had also ordained many

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persons, without tendering them the oaths enjoined by law; and yet, in their letters of orders, he had certified, under his hand and seal, that they had taken those oaths: this was what the law calls *crimen falsi*, the certifying that which he knew to be false. No exceptions lay to the witnesses, by whom these things were made out; nor did the Bishop bring any proofs, on his side, to contradict their evidence. Some affirmed, that he was a sober and regular man, and that he spoke often of simony with such detestation, that they could not think him capable of committing it. The Bishop of Rochester withdrew from the court on the day in which sentence was to be given: he consented to a suspension; but he did not think that a bishop could be deprived by the Archbishop. When the court sat to give judgment, the Bishop resumed his privilege of peerage, and pleaded it; but, he having waved it in the House of Lords, and having gone on still submitting to the court, no regard was had to this, since a plea to the jurisdiction of the court was to be offered in the first instance, but could not be kept up to the last, and then be made use of. The bishops, that were present, agreed to a sentence of deprivation. I went further, and thought that he ought to be excommunicated. He was one of the worst men, in all respects, that ever I knew in holy orders: passionate, covetous, and false in the blackest instances; without any one virtue or good quality to balance his many bad ones: but, as he was advanced by King James, so he stuck firm to that interest; and the party, though ashamed of him, yet were resolved to support him with great zeal. He appealed to a court of delegates; and they, about the end of the year, confirmed the Archbishop's sentence. Another prosecution followed for simony, against Jones, Bishop of St. Asaph, in which, though the presumptions were very great, yet the evidence was not so clear as in the former case. The bishops in Wales give almost all the benefices in their diocese; so this primitive constitution, that is still preserved among them, was scandalously abused by some wicked men, who set holy things to sale, and thereby increased the prejudices that are but too easily received, both against religion and the church.

I published this year an Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. It seemed a work much wanted, and it

I published  
an Expositi-

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tion of the  
Thirty-nine  
Articles.

was justly to be wondered at, that none of our divines had attempted any such performance, in a way suitable to the dignity of the subject; for some slight analyses of them are not worth either mentioning or reading. It was a work that required study and labour, and laid a man open to many malicious attacks; this made some of my friends advise me against publishing it: in compliance with them, I kept it five years by me, after I had finished it; but I was now prevailed on by the Archbishop, and many of my own order, besides a great many others, to delay the publishing it no longer. It seemed a proper addition to the History of the Reformation, to explain and prove the doctrine which was then established. I was moved first by the late Queen, and pressed by the late Archbishop to write it. I can appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that I wrote it with great sincerity, and a good intention, and with all the application and care I was capable of. I did then expect, what I have since met with, that malicious men would employ both their industry and ill nature, to find matter for censure and cavils; but though there have been some books writ on purpose against it, and many, in sermons and other treatises, have occasionally reflected with great severity upon several passages in it, yet this has been done with so little justice or reason, that I am not yet convinced that there is one single period or expression that is justly remarked on, or that can give me any occasion, either to retract, or so much as to explain any one part of that whole work; which I was very ready to have done, if I had seen cause for it. There was another reason that seemed to determine me to the publishing it at this time.

The growth  
of popery.

Upon the peace of Ryswick, a great swarm of priests came over to England; not only those whom the Revolution had frightened away, but many more new men, who appeared in many places with great insolence; and it was said, that they boasted of the favour and protection of which they were assured. Some enemies of the government began to give it out, that the favouring that religion was a secret article of the peace; and so absurd is malice and calumny, that the jacobites began to say, that the King was either of that religion, or at least a favourer of it. Complaints of the avowed practices and insolence of the priests were

brought from several places during the last session of parliament, and those were maliciously aggravated by some, who cast the blame of all on the King.

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Upon this, some proposed a bill, that obliged all persons educated in that religion, or suspected to be of it, who should succeed to any estate before they were of the age of eighteen, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the test, as soon as they came to that age; and till they did it, the estate was to devolve to the next of kin that was a protestant; but was to return back to them, upon their taking the oaths. All popish priests were also banished by the bill, and were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment if they should again return to England; and the reward of an 100*l.* was offered to every one who should discover a popish priest so as to convict him. Those who brought this into the House of Commons, hoped that the court would have opposed it; but the court promoted the bill: so when the party saw their mistake, they seemed willing to let the bill fall; and when that could not be done, they clogged it with many severe, and some unreasonable clauses, hoping that the Lords would not pass the act; and it was said, that if the Lords should make the least alteration in it; they, in the House of Commons, who had set it on, were resolved to let it lie on their table, when it should be sent back to them. Many lords, who secretly favoured papists, on the jacobite account, did, for this very reason, move for several alterations; some of these importing a greater severity; but the zeal against popery was such in that house, that the bill passed without any amendment, and it had the royal assent. I was for this bill, notwithstanding my principles for toleration, and against all persecution for conscience sake. I had always thought, that if a government found any sect in religion, incompatible with its quiet and safety, it might, and sometimes ought to send away all of that sect, with as little hardship as possible. It is certain, that as all papists must, at all times, be ill subjects to a protestant prince, so this is much more to be apprehended, when there is a pretended popish heir in the case. This act hurt no man that was in the present possession of an estate, it only incapacitated his next heir to succeed to that estate, if he continued a papist; so the danger of this, in case the act should be well looked to,

An act  
against pa-  
pists.

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would put those of that religion, who are men of conscience, on the selling their estates; and in the course of a few years, might deliver us from having any papists left among us. But this act wanted several necessary clauses to enforce the due execution of it; the word "next of kin," was very indefinite; and the "next of kin" was not obliged to claim the benefit of this act; nor did the right descend to the remoter heirs, if the more immediate ones should not take the benefit of it; the test, relating to matters of doctrine and worship, did not seem a proper ground for so great a severity: so this act was not followed nor executed in any sort: but here is a scheme laid, though not fully digested, which, on some great provocation given by those of that religion, may dispose a parliament to put such clauses in a new act, as may make this effectual.

Affairs in  
Holstein.

The King of Denmark was in a visible decline all this year, and died about the end of summer. While he was languishing, the Duke of Holstein began to build some new forts in that dutchy; this, the Danes said, was contrary to the treaties, and to the condominium, which that King and the Duke have in that dutchy: the Duke of Holstein had married the King of Sweden's sister, and depended on the assurances he had, of being supported by that crown: the young King of Denmark, upon his coming to the crown, as he complained of these infractions, so he entered into an alliance with the King of Poland, and the Elector of Brandenburg, and, as was said, with the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Wolfembüttel, to attack Sweden and Holstein at once, on all hands. The King of Poland was to invade Livonia; the Elector of Brandenburg was to fall into the Regal Pomerania, and the other princes were to keep the Dukes of Zell and Hanover from assisting Holstein; the King of Denmark himself was to attack Holstein; but his father's chief minister and treasurer, the Baron Plesse, did not like the concert, and apprehended it would not end well; so he withdrew from his post, which he had maintained long, with a high reputation, both for his capacity and integrity; which appeared in this, that, though that King's power is now carried to be absolute, yet he never stretched it to new or oppressive taxes; and, therefore, seeing things were like to take another ply in a new reign, he resigned his employment. He was the



ablest and the worthiest man, that I ever knew belonging to those parts: he was much trusted and employed by Prince George; so that I had great opportunities to know him:

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The King of Sweden, seeing such a storm coming upon him from so many hands, claimed the effects of his alliance with England and Holland, who were guarantees of the several treaties made in the north, particularly of the last made at Altena, but ten years before. The house of Lunenburgh was also engaged in interest to preserve Holstein, as a barrier between them and Denmark. The King of Poland thought the invasion of Livonia, which was to be begun with the siege of Riga, would prove both easy and of great advantage to him. Livonia was antiently a fief of the crown of Poland, and delivered itself for protection to the crown of Sweden, by a capitulation: by that, they were still to enjoy their antient liberties; afterwards, the pretension of the crown of Poland was yielded up, about threescore years ago; so that Livonia was an absolute but legal government: yet the late King of Sweden had treated that principality in the same rough manner in which he had oppressed his other dominions; so it was thought, that the Livonians were disposed (as soon as they saw a power ready to protect them, and to restore them to their former liberties) to shake off the Swedish yoke; especially if they saw the King attacked in so many different places at once.

A war  
raised  
against the  
King of  
Sweden.

The King of Poland had a farther design in this invasion: he had an army of Saxons in Poland, to whom he chiefly trusted in carrying on his designs there; the Poles were become so jealous, both of him and of his Saxons, that in a general diet they had come to very severe resolutions, in case the Saxons were not sent out of the kingdom by a prefixed day; that King therefore reckoned, that as the reduction of Livonia had the fair appearance of recovering the antient inheritance of the crown; so, by this means, he would carry the Saxons out of Poland, as was decreed, and yet have them within call: he likewise studied to engage those of Lithuania, to join with him in the attempt. His chief dependance was on the Czar, who had assured him, that if he could make peace with the Turk, and keep Azuph, he would assist him powerfully against

The King of  
Poland's de-  
signs.

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the Swedes; his design being to recover Narva, which is capable of being made a good port. By this means, he hoped to get into the Baltic, where, if he could once settle, he would soon become an uneasy neighbour to all the northern princes: the King of Poland went into Saxony, to mortgage and sell his lands there, and to raise as much money as was possible for carrying on this war; and he brought the electorate to so low a state, that if his designs in Poland miscarry, and if he is driven back into Saxony, he, who was the richest prince of the empire, will become one of the poorest. But the amusements of balls and operas consumed so much, both of his time and treasure, that whereas the design was laid to surprise Riga in the middle of the winter, he did not begin his attempt upon it before the end of February; and these designs went no farther this year.

The parti-  
tion treaty.

While the King was at Loo this summer, a new treaty was set on foot concerning the succession to the crown of Spain: the King and the States of the United Provinces saw the danger to which they would be exposed if they should engage in a new war, while we were yet under the vast debts that the former had brought upon us: the King's ministers in the House of Commons assured him, that it would be a very difficult thing to bring them to enter into a new war for maintaining the rights of the house of Austria. During the debates concerning the army, when some mentioned the danger of that monarchy falling into the hands of a prince of the house of Bourbon, it was set up for a maxim, that it would be of no consequence to the affairs of Europe, who was King of Spain, whether a Frenchman or a German, and that as soon as the successor should come within Spain, he would become a true Spaniard, and be governed by the maxims and interests of that crown; so that there was no prospect of being able to infuse into the nation an apprehension of the consequence of that succession. The Emperor had a very good claim, but as he had little strength to support it by land, so he had none at all by sea, and his treasure was quite exhausted by his long war with the Turk: the French drew a great force towards the frontiers of Spain, and they were resolved to march into it upon that King's death: there was no strength ready to oppose them, yet they seemed willing to compound the matter; but they

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said, the consideration must be very valuable, that could make them desist from so great a pretension; and both the King and the states thought it was a good bargain, if, by yielding up some of the less important branches of that monarchy, they could save those in which they were most concerned, which were Spain itself, the West Indies, and the Netherlands. The French seemed willing to accept of the dominions in and about Italy, with a part of the kingdom of Navarre, and to yield up the rest to the Emperor's second son, the Archduke Charles; the Emperor entered into the treaty, for he saw he could not hope to carry the whole succession entire, but he pressed to have the Dutchy of Milan added to his hereditary dominions in Germany: the expedient that the King proposed was, that the Duke of Lorraine should have the Dutchy of Milan, and that France should accept of Lorraine instead of it; he was the Emperor's nephew, and would be entirely in his interests. The Emperor did not agree to this, but yet he pressed the King not to give over the treaty, and to try if he could make a better bargain for him: above all things he recommended secrecy, for he well knew how much the Spaniards would be offended, if any treaty should be owned, that might bring on a dismembering of their monarchy; for though they were taking no care to preserve it, in the whole or in part, yet they could not bear the having any branch torn from it. The King reckoned that the Emperor, with the other princes of Italy, might have so much interest in Rome, as to stop the Pope's giving the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; and which way soever that matter might end, it would oblige the Pope to shew great partiality, either to the house of Austria or the house of Bourbon; which might occasion a breach among them, with other consequences that might be very happy to the whole protestant interest: any war that might follow in Italy, would be at great distance from us, and in a country that we had no reason to regard much; besides, that the fleets of England and Holland must come, in conclusion, to be the arbiters of the matter.

These were the King's secret motives, for I had most of them from his own mouth: the French consented to this scheme, and if the Emperor would have agreed to it, his son, the Archduke, was immediately to go to Spain, to be considered as the heir of that crown. By these articles,

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signed both by the King of France and the Dauphin, they bound themselves not to accept of any will, testament, or donation, contrary to this treaty, which came to be called the partition treaty: I had the original in my hands, which the Dauphin signed; the French and the Emperor tried their strength in the court of Spain; it is plain the Emperor trusted too much to his interest in that court, and in that King himself; and he refused to accept of that partition, merely to ingratiate himself with them; otherwise, it was not doubted, but that, seeing the impossibility of mending matters, he would have yielded to the necessity of his affairs. The French did, in a most perfidious manner, study to alienate the Spaniards from their allies, by shewing them to how great a diminution of their monarchy they had consented; so that no way possible was left for them to keep those dominions still united to their crown, but by accepting the Duke of Anjou to be their King, with whom all should be again restored. The Spaniards complained in the courts of their allies, in ours in particular, of this partition, as a detestable project, which was to rob them of those dominions that belonged to their crown, and ought not to be torn from it: no mention was made of this during the session of parliament, for though the thing was generally believed, yet it not being publicly owned, no notice could be taken of bare reports, and nothing was to be done in pursuance of this treaty, during the King of Spain's life.

The affairs  
of Scotland.

In Scotland, all men were full of hopes that their new colony should bring them home mountains of gold: the proclamations sent to Jamaica, and to the other English plantations, were much complained of as acts of hostility and a violation of the common rights of humanity: these had a great effect on them, though without these, that colony was too weak and too ill supplied, as well as too much divided within itself, to have subsisted long. Those who had first possessed themselves of it were forced to abandon it: soon after they had gone from it, a second recruit of men and provisions was sent thither from Scotland; but one of their ships unhappily took fire, in which they had the greatest stock of provisions; and so these likewise went off: and though the third reinforcement, that soon followed this, was both stronger and better furnished, yet they fell into such factions among themselves, that they

were too weak to resist the Spaniards, who, feeble as they were, yet saw the necessity of attacking them; and they, finding themselves unable to resist the force which was brought against them, capitulated; and with that the whole design fell to the ground, partly for want of stock and skill in those who managed it, and partly by the baseness and treachery of those whom they employed.

The conduct of the King's ministers in Scotland was much censured in the whole progress of this affair; for they had connived at it, if not encouraged it, in hopes that the design would fall of itself; but now it was not so easy to cure the universal discontent which the miscarriage of this design, to the impoverishing the whole kingdom, had raised, and which now began to spread, like a contagion, among all sorts of people. A petition for a present session of parliament was immediately sent about the kingdom, and was signed by many thousands: this was sent up by some of the chief of their nobility, whom the King received very coldly: yet a session of parliament was granted them, to which the Duke of Queensberry was sent down commissioner. Great pains were taken, by all sorts of practices, to be sure of a majority; great offers were made them in order to lay the discontents, which then ran very high; a law for a habeas corpus, with a great freedom for trade, and every thing that they could demand, was offered, to persuade them to desist from pursuing the design upon Darien. The court had tried to get the parliament of England to interpose in that matter, and to declare themselves against that undertaking. The House of Lords was prevailed on to make an address to the King, representing the ill effects that they apprehended from that settlement: but this did not signify much, for as it was carried in that house by a small majority of seven or eight, so it was laid aside by the House of Commons. Some were not ill pleased to see the King's affairs run into an embroilment; and others did apprehend, that there was a design to involve the two kingdoms in a national quarrel, that by such an artifice a greater army might be raised, and kept up on both sides; so they let that matter fall, nor would they give any entertainment to a bill that was sent them by the Lords, in order to a treaty for the union of both kingdoms. The managers in the House of Commons, who opposed the court, resolved

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Great discontent upon the loss of Darien.

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to do nothing that should provoke Scotland, or that should take any part of the blame and general discontent that soured that nation off from the King. It was further given out, to raise the national disgust yet higher, that the opposition the King gave to the Scotch colony flowed neither from a regard to the interests of England, nor to the treaties with Spain, but from a care of the Dutch, who, from Curaçoa, drove a coasting trade among the Spanish plantations with great advantage; which, they said, the Scotch colony, if once well settled, would draw wholly from them. These things were set about that nation with great industry: the management was chiefly in the hands of jacobites: neither the King nor his ministers, were treated with the decencies that are sometimes observed, even after subjects have run to arms: the keenest of their rage was plainly pointed at the King himself; next him the Earl of Portland, who had still the direction of their affairs, had a large share of it. In the session of parliament it was carried by a vote, to make the affair of Darien a national concern: upon that the session was, for some time, discontinued. When the news of the total abandoning of Darien was brought over, it cannot be well expressed into how bad a temper this cast the body of that people; they had now lost almost 200,000*l.* sterling upon this project, besides all the imaginary treasure they had promised themselves from it: so the nation was raised into a sort of fury upon it, and in the first heat of that a remonstrance was sent about the kingdom for hands, representing to the King the necessity of a present sitting of the parliament, which was drawn in so high a strain, as if they had resolved to pursue the effects of it by an armed force. It was signed by a great majority of the members of parliament; and the ferment in men's spirits was raised so high, that few thought it could have been long curbed without breaking forth into great extremities.

A session of  
parliament.

The King staid beyond sea till November: many expected to see a new parliament; for the King's speech at the end of the former session looked like a complaint, and an appeal to the nation against them; he seemed inclined to it, but his ministers would not venture on it: the dissolving a parliament in anger has always cast such a load on those who were thought to have advised it, that few have been able to stand it; besides, the disbanding

the army had rendered the members, who promoted it, very popular to the nation ; so that they would have sent up the same men, and it was thought that there was little occasion for heat in another session : but those who opposed the King, resolved to force a change of the ministry upon him ; they were seeking colours for this, and thought they had found one, with which they had made much noise : it was this.

Some pirates had got together in the Indian seas, and robbed some of the Mogul's ships, in particular one, that he was sending with presents to Mecca : most of them were English : the East India Company, having represented the danger of the Mogul's taking reprisals of them, for these losses, it appeared that there was a necessity of destroying those pirates, who were harbouring themselves in some creeks in Madagascar. So a man of war was to be set out to destroy them, and one Kid was pitched upon, who knew their haunts, and was thought a proper man for the service : but there was not a fund to bear the charge of this ; for the parliament had so appropriated the money given for the sea, that no part of it could be applied to this expedition. The King proposed the managing it by a private undertaking, and said, he would lay down 3,000*l.* himself, and recommended it to his ministers to find out the rest : in compliance with this, the Lord Somers, the Earls of Orford, Rumney, Bellamount, and some others contributed the whole expense ; for the King excused himself, by reason of other accidents, and did not advance the sum that he had promised : Lord Somers understood nothing of the matter, and left it wholly to the management of others, so that he never saw Kid, only he thought it became the post he was in, to concur in such a public service. A grant was made to the undertakers, of all that should be taken from those pirates, by their ship. Here was a handle for complaint ; for, as it was against law to take a grant of the goods of any offenders before conviction, so a parity between that and this case was urged ; but without any reason : the provisions of law being very different, in the case of pirates and that of other criminals. The former cannot be attacked, but in the way of war ; and therefore since those, who undertook this, must run a great risk in executing it, it was reasonable, and according

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A complaint  
made of  
some pi-  
rates.

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to the law of war, that they should have a right to all that they found in the enemies' hands; whereas those, who seize common offenders, have such a strength by the law to assist them, and incur so little danger in doing it, that no just inference can be drawn from the one case to the other. When this Kid was thus set out, he turned pirate himself; so a heavy load was cast on the ministry, chiefly on him who was at the head of the justice of the nation. It was said, he ought not to have engaged in such a project; and it was maliciously insinuated, that the privateer turned pirate, in confidence of the protection of those who employed him; if he had not secret orders from them for what he did. Such black constructions are men, who are engaged in parties, apt to make of the actions of those whom they intend to disgrace, even against their own consciences: so that an undertaking, that was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a design for robbery and piracy. This was urged in the House of Commons as highly criminal, for which all, who were concerned in it, ought to be turned out of their employments; and a question was put upon it, but it was rejected by a great majority. The next attempt was to turn me out from the trust of educating the Duke of Gloucester: some objected my being a Scotchman; others remembered the book that was ordered to be burnt; so they pressed an address to the King for removing me from that post; but this was likewise lost by the same majority that had carried the former vote. The pay for the small army, and the expense of the fleet, were settled: and a fund was given for it; yet those, who had reduced the army, thought it needless to have so great a force at sea; they provided only for eight thousand men. This was moved by the tories; and the whigs readily gave way to this reduction, because the fleet was now in another management; Russel (now Earl of Orford) with his friends being laid aside, and a set of tories being brought into their places.

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Debates  
concerning  
estates in  
Ireland.

The great business of this session was the report brought from Ireland, by four of the seven commissioners that were sent by parliament to examine into the confiscations, and the grants made of them. Three of the seven refused to sign it, because they thought it false and ill-grounded in many particulars, of which they sent over an account to



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both houses; but no regard was had to that, nor was any inquiry made into their objections to the report. These three were looked on as men gained by the court; and the rest were magnified as men that could not be wrought on, nor frightened from their duty. They had proceeded like inquisitors, and did readily believe every thing that was offered to them that tended to inflame the report; as they suppressed all that was laid before them, that contradicted their design of representing the value of the grants as very high, and of shewing how undeserving those were who had obtained them: there was so much truth in the main of this, that no complaints against their proceedings could be hearkened to; and indeed all the methods that were taken to disgrace the report had the quite contrary effect: they represented the confiscated estates to be such, that, out of the sale of them, a million and a half might be raised; so this specious proposition for discharging so great a part of the public debt took with the house; the hatred into which the favourites were fallen, among whom and their creatures the grants were chiefly distributed, made the motion go the quicker. All the opposition that was made, in the whole progress of this matter, was looked on as a courting the men in favour; nor was any regard paid to the reserve of a third part, to be disposed of by the King, which had been in the bill that was sent up eight years before to the Lords. When this was mentioned, it was answered, that the grantees had enjoyed those estates so many years, that the mean profits did arise to more than a third part of their value: little regard also was shewn to the purchases made under those grants, and to the great improvements made by the purchasers or tenants, which were said to have doubled the value of those estates. All that was said on that head made no impression, and was scarce heard with patience: yet, that some justice might be done both to purchasers and creditors, a number of trustees were named, in whom all the confiscated estates were vested, and they had a very great and uncontrolable authority lodged with them, of hearing and determining all just claims relating to those estates, and of selling them to the best purchasers: and the money to be raised by this sale, was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. When all this was digested into a bill, the party apprehended that many petitions would

An act vest-  
ing them in  
trustees.

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be offered to the house, which the court would probably encourage, on design at least to retard their proceedings: so, to prevent this, and that they might not lose too much time, nor clog the bill with too many clauses and provisos, they passed a vote of a very extraordinary nature, that they would receive no petitions relating to the matter of this bill. The case of the Earl of Athlone's grant was very singular: the House of Commons had been so sensible of his good service in reducing Ireland, that they had made an address to the King, to give him a recompense suitable to his services: and the parliament of Ireland was so sensible of their obligations to him, that they, as was formerly told, confirmed his grant of between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* a year. He had sold it to those who thought they purchased under an unquestionable title, yet all that was set aside, no regard being had to it; so that this estate was thrown into the heap. Some exceptions were made in the bill in favour of some grants, and provision was made for rewarding others, whom the King, as they thought, had not enough considered. Great opposition was made to this by some, who thought that all favours and grants ought to be given by the King, and not originally by a house of parliament; and this was managed with great heat, even by some of those who concurred in carrying on the bill. In conclusion, it was, by a new term as well as a new invention, consolidated with the money bill, that was to go for the pay of the fleet and army, and so it came up to the House of Lords; which by consequence they must either pass or reject. The method that the court took in that house to oppose it, was, to offer some alterations, that were indeed very just and reasonable; but since the House of Commons would not suffer the Lords to alter money bills, this was in effect to lose it. The court, upon some previous votes, found they had a majority among the Lords; so, for some days, it seemed to be designed to lose the bill, and to venture on a prorogation or a dissolution rather than pass it. Upon the apprehensions of this, the Commons were beginning to fly out into high votes, both against the ministers and the favourites; the Lord Somers was attacked a second time, but was brought off by a greater majority than had appeared for him at the beginning of the session. During the debates about the bill, he was ill, and the worst

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construction possible was put on that; it was said, he advised all the opposition that was made to it in the House of Lords, but that to keep himself out of it, he feigned that he was ill; though his great attendance in the Court of Chancery, the House of Lords, and at the council table, had so impaired his health, that every year, about that time, he used to be brought very low, and disabled from business. The King seemed resolved, to venture on all the ill consequences that might follow the losing this bill, though those would probably have been fatal. As far as we could judge, either another session of that parliament, or a new one, would have banished the favourites, and begun the bill anew, with the addition of obliging the grantees to refund all the mean profits: many in the House of Lords, that in all other things were very firm to the King, were for passing this bill, notwithstanding the King's earnestness against it, since they apprehended the ill consequences, that were like to follow, if it was lost. I was one of these, and the King was much displeased with me for it: I said, I would venture his displeasure, rather than please him in that, which I feared would be the ruin of his government. I confess, I did not at that time apprehend what injustice lay under many of the clauses in the bill, which appeared afterwards so evidently, that the very same persons who drove on the bill, were convinced of them, and redressed some of them in acts, that passed in subsequent sessions: if I had understood that matter aright and in time, I had never given my vote for so unjust a bill. I only considered it as a hardship put on the King, many of his grants being thus made void; some of which had not been made on good and reasonable considerations, so that they could hardly be excused, much less justified; I thought the thing was a sort of force, to which it seemed reasonable to give way, at that time, since we were not furnished with an equal strength to withstand it: but when I saw afterwards, what the consequences of this act proved to be, I did firmly resolve, never to consent again to any tack to a money bill as long as I lived. The King became sullen upon all this, and upon the many incidents that are apt to fall in upon debates of this nature: he either did not apprehend, in what such things might end, or he was not much concerned at it: his resentment, which was much

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provoked, broke out into some instances, which gave such handles to his enemies as they wished for; and they improved those advantages which his ill conduct gave them, with much spite and industry, so as to alienate the nation from him. It was once in agitation among the party, to make an address to him, against going beyond sea, but even that was diverted, with a malicious design. Hitherto the body of the nation retained a great measure of affection to him; this was beginning to diminish by his going so constantly beyond sea, as soon as the session of parliament was ended, though the war was now over. Upon this it grew to be publicly said, that he loved no Englishman's face, nor his company: so his enemies reckoned it was fit for their ends, to let that prejudice go on, and increase in the minds of the people, till they might find a proper occasion to graft some bad designs upon it. The session ended in April; men of all sides being put into a very ill humour by the proceedings in it.

A change in  
the minis-  
try.

The leaders of the tories began to insinuate to the favourites, the necessity of the King's changing his ministry, in particular of removing the Lord Somers, who, as he was now considered as the head of the whigs, so his wise counsels, and his modest way of laying them before the King, had gained him a great share of his esteem and confidence; and it was reckoned, that the chief strength of the party lay in his credit with the King, and in the prudent methods he took to govern the party, and to moderate that heat and those jealousies, with which the King had been so long disgusted, in the first years of his reign. In the House of Commons, he had been particularly charged, for turning many gentlemen out of the commission of the peace: this was much aggravated, and raised a very high complaint against him; but there was no just cause for it. When the design of the assassination and invasion, in the year 1695 and 1696 was discovered, a voluntary association was entered into by both houses of parliament, and that was set round the nation: in such a time of danger, it was thought, that those who did not enter voluntarily into it, were so ill affected, or at least so little zealous for the King, that it was not fit they should continue justices of peace: so an order passed in council, that all those who had so refused, should be turned out of the commission. He had



obeyed this order, upon the representations made to him, by the lords lieutenants and the *custodes rotulorum* of the several counties, who were not all equally discreet: yet he laid those representations before the council, and had a special order, for every person that was so turned out. All this was now magnified, and it was charged on him, that he had advised and procured these orders; yet this could not be made so much as a colour to proceed against him; a clamour and murmuring was all that could be raised from it. But now the tories studied to get it infused into the King, that all the hard things that had been of late put on him by the parliament, were occasioned by the hatred that was borne to his ministers; and that if he would change hands and employ others, matters might be softened and mended in another parliament: with this the Earl of Jersey studied to possess the Earl of Albemarle; and the uneasiness the King was in disposed him to think, that if he should bring in a set of tories into his business, they would serve him with the same zeal, and with better success, than the whigs had done; and he hoped to throw all upon the ministers that were now to be dismissed.

The first time that the Lord Somers had recovered so much health as to come to court, the King told him, it seemed necessary for his service, that he should part with the seals, and he wished that he would make the delivering them up his own act: he excused himself in this; all his friends had pressed him not to offer them, since that seemed to shew fear or guilt: so he begged the King's pardon, if in this he followed their advice; but he told the King that, whensoever he should send a warrant under his hand, commanding him to deliver them up, he would immediately obey it: the order was brought by Lord Jersey, and upon it the seals were sent to the King. Thus the Lord Somers was discharged from this great office, which he had held seven years, with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, and diligence: he was in all respects the greatest man I had ever known in that post; his being thus removed was much censured by all, but those who had procured it. Our princes used not to dismiss ministers who served them well, unless they were pressed to it by a House of Commons, that refused to give money till they were laid aside: but here a minister (who was al-

The Lord  
Somers is  
turned out.

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ways vindicated by a great majority in the House of Commons, when he was charged there, and who had served both with fidelity and success, and was indeed censured for nothing so much, as for his being too compliant with the King's humour and notions, or at least for being too soft or too feeble in representing his errors to him) was removed without a shadow of complaint against him. This was done with so much haste, that those who had prevailed with the King to do it, had not yet concerted, who should succeed him: they thought that all the great men of the law were aspiring to that high post, so that any one, to whom it should be offered, would certainly accept of it. But they soon found they were mistaken; for, what by reason of the instability of the court, what by reason of the just apprehensions men might have, of succeeding so great a man, both Holt and Trevor, to whom the seals were offered, excused themselves. It was term time, so a vacancy in that post put things in some confusion. A temporary commission was granted to the three chief judges, to judge in the Court of Chancery; and after a few days, the seals were given to Sir Nathan Wright, in whom there was nothing equal to the post, much less to him who had lately filled it. The King's inclinations seemed now turned to the Tories, and to a new parliament: it was for some time in the dark, who had the confidence, and gave directions to affairs: we, who looked on, were often disposed to think, that there was no direction at all, but that every thing was left to take its course, and that all was given up to hazard.

A fleet sent  
to the  
Sound.

The King, that he might give some content to the nation, staid at Hampton Court till July, and then went to Holland; but before he went, the minister of Sweden pressed him to make good his engagements with that crown: Riga was now besieged by the King of Poland. The first attempt of carrying the place by surprise, miscarried; those of Riga were either overawed by the Swedish garrison that commanded there, or they apprehended, that the change of masters would not change their condition unless it were for the worse; so they made a greater stand than was expected; and in a siege of above eight months, very little progress was made. The firmness of that place made the rest of Livonia continue fixed to the Swedes. The Saxons made great waste in the country, and ruined the trade of

1700.  


**Riga.** The King of Sweden, being obliged to employ his main force elsewhere, was not able to send them any considerable assistance. The Elector of Brandenburg lay quiet, without making any attempt: so did the Princes of Hesse and Wolfembüttel. The two scenes of action were in Holstein, and before Copenhagen. The King of Denmark found the taking the forts, that had been raised by the Duke of Holstein, an easy work; they were soon carried and demolished: he besieged Toninghen next, which held him longer. Upon the Swedes demand of the auxiliary fleets, that were stipulated, both by the King and the states, orders were given for equipping them here, and likewise in Holland. The King was not willing to communicate this design to the two houses, and try if the House of Commons would take upon themselves the expense of the fleet: they were in so bad a humour, that the King apprehended, that some of them might endeavour to put an affront upon him, and oppose the sending a fleet into the Sound: though others advised the venturing on this; for no nation can subsist without alliances sacredly observed; and this was an antient one, lately renewed by the King; so that an opposition in such a point, must have turned to the prejudice of those who should move it. Soon after the session, a fleet of thirty ships, English and Dutch, was sent to the Baltic, commanded by Rook. The Danes had a good fleet at sea, much superior to the Swedes, and almost equal to the fleet sent from hence; but it was their whole strength, so they would not run the hazard of losing it. They kept at sea for some time, having got between the Swedes and the fleet of their allies, and studied to hinder their conjunction. When they saw that could not be done, they retired, and secured themselves within the port of Copenhagen, which is a very strong one. The Swedes, with their allies, came before that town and bombarded it for some days, but with little damage to the place, and none to the fleet. The Dukes of Luncenburgh, together with the forces that the Swedes had at Bremen, passed the Elbe, and marched to the assistance of the Duke of Holstein: this obliged the Danes to raise the siege of Toninghen, and the two armies lay in view of one another, for some weeks, without coming to any action. Another design of the Danes did also miscarry. A body of Saxons broke into the territories of

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Peace be-  
tween Den-  
mark and  
Sweden.

the Duke of Brunswick, in hopes to force their army to come back, to the defence of their own country; but the Duke of Zell had left things in so good order, that the Saxons were beat back, and all the booty that they had taken was recovered.

In the mean time the King offered his mediation, and a treaty was set on foot. The two young Kings were so much sharpened against one another, that it was not easy to bring them to hearken to terms of peace. The King of Denmark proposed, that the King of Poland might be included in the treaty; but the Swedes refused it: and the King was not guarantee of the treaties between Sweden and Poland, so he was not obliged to take care of the King of Poland. The treaty went on but slowly; this made the King of Sweden apprehend, that he should lose the season, and be forced to abandon Riga, which began to be straitened: so to quicken the treaty, he resolved on a descent in Zealand. This was executed without any opposition, the King of Sweden conducting it in person, and being the first that landed; he shewed such spirit and courage in his whole conduct, as raised his character very high. It struck a terror through all Denmark: for now the Swedes resolved to besiege Copenhagen. This did so quicken the treaty, that by the middle of August it was brought to a full end: old treaties were renewed, and a liberty of fortifying was reserved for Holstein, under some limitations; and the King of Denmark paid the Duke of Holstein two hundred and sixty thousand rix-dollars for the charge of the war. The peace being thus made, the Swedes retired back to Schonen: and the fleets of England and Holland returned home. The King's conduct, in this whole matter, was highly applauded; he effectually protected the Swedes, and yet obliged them to accept of reasonable terms of peace. The King of Denmark suffered most in honour and interest. It was a great happiness that this war was so soon at an end; for if it had continued, all the north must have engaged in it, and there the chief strength of the protestant religion lay: so that interest must have suffered much, which side soever had come by the worst, in the progress of the war: and it is already so weak, that it needed not a new diminution.

The secret of the partition treaty was now published, and



the project was to be offered jointly by the ministers of France, England, and the states, to all the princes of Europe, but particularly to those who were most concerned in it, and an answer was to be demanded by a day limited for it. The Emperor refused to declare himself, till he knew the King of Spain's mind concerning it: the Duke of Savoy and the princes of Italy were very apprehensive of the neighbourhood of France: the Pope was extremely old, and declined very fast. The treaty was variously censured; some thought it would deliver up the Mediterranean Sea, and all our trade there, into the hands of France; others thought that the treaties of princes were (according to the pattern that the court of France had set now for almost half an age) only artifices to bring matters to a present quiet, and that they would be afterwards observed, as princes found their account in them. The present good understanding that was between our court and the court of France, made that the party of our malecontents at home, having no support from thence, sunk much in their heat, and they had now no prospect; for it seemed as if the King of France had set his heart on the partition treaty, and it was necessary for him, in order to the obtaining his ends in it, to live in a good correspondence with England and the states; all our hopes were, that the King of Spain might yet live a few years longer, till the great mortgages that were on the revenue might be cleared, and then it would be more easy for us to engage in a new war, and to be the arbiters of Europe.

But while we were under the apprehension of his death, we were surprised by an unlooked-for and sudden death of our young Prince at home, which brought a great change on the face of affairs. I had been trusted with his education now for two years, and he had made an amazing progress: I had read over the Psalms, Proverbs, and Gospels with him, and had explained things that fell in my way very copiously, and was often surprised with the questions that he put me, and the reflections that he made: he came to understand things relating to religion beyond imagination: I went through geography so often with him, that he knew all the maps very particularly: I explained to him the forms of government in every country, with the interests and trade of that country, and what was both good and bad

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Censures  
passed on  
the partition  
treaty.

The death  
of the Duke  
of Gloucester.

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in it: I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the Greek and Roman histories, and of Plutarch's Lives: the last thing I explained to him was the Gothic constitution, and the beneficiary and feudal laws: I talked of these things at different times, near three hours a day: this was both easy and delighting to him. The King ordered five of his chief ministers to come once a quarter, and examine the progress he made: they seemed amazed both at his knowledge, and the good understanding that appeared in him; he had a wonderful memory, and a very good judgment; he had gone through much weakness, and some years of ill health; the Princess was with child of him, during all the disorder we were in at the Revolution, though she did not know it herself at the time when she left the court: this probably had given him so weak a constitution, but we hoped the dangerous time was over; his birth-day was the 24th of July, and he was then eleven years old; he complained a little the next day, but we imputed that to the fatigues of a birth-day; so that he was too much neglected: the day after he grew much worse, and it proved to be a malignant fever: he died the fourth day of his illness, to the great grief of all who were concerned in him: he was the only remaining child of seventeen that the Princess had born, some to the full time, and the rest before it. She attended on him during his sickness with great tenderness, but with a grave composedness that amazed all who saw it: she bore his death with a resignation and piety that were indeed very singular. His death gave a great alarm to the whole nation; the jacobites grew insolent upon it, and said, now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the Prince of Wales's succession. Soon after this, the house of Brunswick returned the visit that the King had made them last year, and the eyes of all the protestants in the nation turned towards the Electoress of Brunswick, who was daughter to the Queen of Bohemia, and was the next protestant heir, all papists being already excluded from the succession: thus, of the four lives that we had in view, as our chief security, the two that we depended most on, the Queen and the Duke of Gloucester, were carried off on the sudden, before we were aware of it; and of the two that remained (the King and the Princess) as there was no issue,

and little hopes of any by either of them; so the King, who at best was a man of a feeble constitution, was now falling under an ill habit of body: his legs were much swelled, which some thought was the beginning of a dropsy, while others thought it was only a scorbutic distemper.

Thus God was giving us great alarms, as well as many mercies: he bears long with us, but we are become very corrupt in all respects: so that the state of things among us gives a melancholy prospect. The nation was falling under a general discontent, and a dislike of the King's person and government; and the King, on his part, seemed to grow weary of us, and of our affairs; and partly by the fret, from the opposition he had of late met with, partly from his ill health, he was falling as it were into a lethargy of mind: we were upon the matter become already more than half a commonwealth, since the government was plainly in the hands of the House of Commons, who must sit once a year, and as long as they thought fit, while the King had only the civil list for life, so that the whole administration of the government was under their inspection: the act for triennial parliaments kept up a standing faction in every county and town of England; but though we were falling insensibly into a democracy, we had not learned the virtues that are necessary for that sort of government: luxury, vanity, and ambition increased daily, and our animosities were come to a great height, and gave us dismal apprehensions. Few among us seemed to have a right notion of the love of their country, and of a zeal for the good of the public: the House of Commons, how much soever its power was advanced, yet was much sunk in its credit; very little of gravity, order, or common decency appeared among them; the balance lay chiefly in the House of Lords, who had no natural strength to resist the Commons: the toleration of all the sects among us had made us live more quietly together of late than could be expected when severe laws were rigorously executed against dissenters. No tumults or disorders had been heard of in any part of the kingdom these eleven years, since that act passed; and yet the much greater part of the clergy studied to blow up this fire again, which seemed to be now, as it were, covered over with ashes.

The dissenters behaved themselves more quietly with

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Divisions  
among the  
dissenters.

relation to the church, they having quarrels and disputes among themselves: the independents were raising the old antinomian tenets, as if men by believing in Christ were so united to him, that his righteousness became theirs, without any other condition besides that of their faith; so that, though they acknowledged the obedience of his laws to be necessary, they did not call it a condition, but only a consequence of justification. In this they were opposed by most of the presbyterians, who seemed to be sensible that this struck at the root of all religion, as it weakened the obligation to a holy life. This year had produced a new extravagance in that matter: one Asgil, a member of parliament, had published a book, grounded on their notions, on which he had grafted a new and wild inference of his own, that since true believers recovered in Christ all that they lost in Adam, and our natural death was the effect of Adam's sin, he inferred that believers were rendered immortal by Christ, and not liable to death; and that those who believed with a true and firm faith could not die. This was a strain beyond all that ever went before it; and since we see that all men die, the natural consequence that resulted from this was, that there neither are, nor ever were, any true believers. The presbyterians had been also engaged in disputes with the anabaptists. They complained that they saw too great a giddiness in their people, and seemed so sensible of this, and so desirous to be brought into the church, that a few inconsiderable concessions would very probably have brought the bulk of them into our communion: but the greater part of the clergy were so far from any disposition this way, that they seemed to be more prejudiced against them than ever.

And among  
the quakers.

The quakers have had a great breach made among them by one George Keith, a Scotchman, with whom I had my first education at Aberdeen: he had been thirty-six years among them: he was esteemed the most learned man that ever was in that sect; he was well versed both in the oriental tongues, in philosophy, and mathematics. After he had been above thirty years in high esteem among them, he was sent to Pennsylvania, a colony set up by Penn, where they are very numerous, to have the chief direction of the education of their youth. In those parts, he said, he first discovered that which had been always either denied

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to him, or so disguised, that he did not suspect it: but being far out of reach, and in a place where they were masters, they spoke out their mind plainer; and it appeared to him that they were deists, and that they turned the whole doctrine of the Christian religion into allegories; chiefly those which relate to the death and resurrection of Christ, and the reconciliation of sinners to God, by virtue of his cross: he being a true Christian, set himself with great zeal against this, upon which they grew weary of him, and sent him back to England. At his return, he set himself to read many of their books, and then he discovered the mystery that was formerly so hid from him that he had not observed it: upon this he opened a new meeting, and, by a printed summons, he called the whole party to come and see the proof that he had to offer, to convince them of these errors: few quakers came to his meetings, but great multitudes of other people flocked about him: he brought the quakers' books with him, and read such passages out of them as convinced his hearers that he had not charged them falsely. He continued these meetings, being still in outward appearance a quaker, for some years; till having prevailed as far as he saw any probability of success, he laid aside their exterior, and was reconciled to the church, and is now in holy orders among us, and likely to do good service, in undeceiving and reclaiming some of those misled enthusiasts.

The clergy continued to be much divided: all moderate divines were looked upon, by some hot men, with an ill eye, as persons who were cold and indifferent in the matters of the church. That which flowed from a gentleness both of temper and principle, was represented as an inclination to favour dissenters, which passed among many for a more heinous thing than leaning to popery itself. Those men who began now to be called the high church party, had all along expressed a coldness, if not an opposition, to the present settlement: soon after the Revolution, some great preferments had been given among them, to try if it was possible to bring them to be hearty for the government; but it appearing that they were soured with a leaven that had gone too deep to be wrought out, a stop was put to the courting them any more. When they saw preferments went in another channel, they set up a com-

A division  
in the  
church.

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plaint over England of the want of convocations ; that they were not allowed to sit nor act with a free liberty, to consider of the grievances of the clergy, and of the danger the church was in. This was a new pretension, never thought of since the Reformation : some books were writ, to justify it, with great acrimony of style, and a strain of insolence that was peculiar to one Atterbury, who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him ; but was both ambitious and virulent out of measure ; and had a singular talent in asserting paradoxes with a great air of assurance, shewing no shame when he was detected in them, though this was done in many instances : but he let all these pass, without either confessing his errors, or pretending to justify himself. He went on still venting new falsehoods in so barefaced a manner, that he seemed to have outdone the Jesuits themselves. He thought the government had so little strength or credit, that any claim against it would be well received ; he attacked the supremacy of the crown, with relation to ecclesiastical matters, which had been hitherto maintained by all our divines with great zeal : but now the hot men of the clergy did so readily entertain his notions, that in them it appeared that those who are the most earnest in the defence of certain points, when these seem to be for them, can very nimbly change their minds upon a change of circumstances.

Debates  
concerning  
the Bishop  
of St. David's.

An eminent instance of this had appeared in the House of Lords, in the former session ; where the deprived Bishop of St. David's complained of the Archbishop of Canterbury : first, for breach of privilege, since sentence was passed upon him, though he had in court claimed privilege of parliament, to which no regard had been paid : but as he had waved his privilege in the House of Lords, it was carried after a long debate, and by no great majority, that in that case he could not resume his privilege. He excepted next to the Archbishop's jurisdiction, and pretended that he could not judge a bishop, but in a synod of the bishops of the province, according to the rules of the primitive times. In opposition to this it was shewn, that from the ninth and tenth century downward, both popes and kings had concurred to bring this power singly into the hands of the metropolitans ; that this was the constant

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practice in England before the Reformation; that by the provisional clause in the act, passed in the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth, that empowered thirty-two persons to draw a new body of church laws, all former laws or customs were to continue in force till that new body was prepared: so that the power the metropolitan was then possessed of, stood confirmed by that clause. It is true, during the high commission, all proceedings against bishops were brought before that court, which proceeded in a summary way, and against whose sentence no appeal lay: but after that court was taken away, a full declaration was made, by an act of parliament, for continuing the power that was lodged with the metropolitan. It was also urged, that if the Bishop had any exception to the Archbishop's jurisdiction, that ought to have been pleaded in the first instance, and not reserved to the conclusion of all: nor could the Archbishop erect a new court, or proceed in the trial of a bishop in any other way than in that which was warranted by law or precedent. To all this no answer was given: but the business was kept up and put off by many delays. It was said, the thing was new, and the House was not yet well apprized of it; and the last time in which the debate was taken up in the House, it ended in an intimation, that it was hoped the King would not fill that see, till the House should be better satisfied in the point of the Archbishop's authority: so the bishopric was not disposed of for some years; and this uncertainty put a great delay to the process against the other Welsh bishops accused of the same crime.

In October the Pope died; and at the same time all Europe was alarmed with the desperate state of the King of Spain's health. When the news came to the court of France, that he was in the last agony, the Earl of Manchester, who was then our ambassador at that court, told me, that Mr. Torcy, the French secretary of state, was sent to him by the King of France, desiring him to let the King, his master, know the news, and to signify to him, that the French King hoped that he would put things in a readiness to execute the treaty, in case any opposition should be made to it: and, in his whole discourse, he expressed a fixed resolution in the French councils to adhere to it. A few days after that the news came of his death

The death  
of the King  
of Spain

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and of his will, declaring the Duke of Anjou the universal heir of the whole Spanish monarchy: it is not yet certainly known, by what means this was brought about, nor how the King of Spain was drawn to consent to it, or whether it was a mere forgery, made by Cardinal Portocarrero and some of the grandees, who partly by practice and corruption, and partly for safety, and that their monarchy might be kept entire (they imagining that the power of France was far superior to all that the House of Austria would be able to engage in its interests), had been prevailed on to prepare and publish this will; and, to make it more acceptable to the Spaniards, among other forfeitures of the crown, not only the successor's departing from what they call the catholic faith; but even his not maintaining the immaculate conception of the virgin, was one.

Clement the  
Eleventh  
chosen  
pope.

As soon as the news came to Rome, it quickened the intrigues of the conclave; so they set up Albano, a man of fifty-two years of age, who, beyond all men's expectation, was chosen pope, and took the name of Clement the Eleventh. He had little practice in affairs, but was very learned; and in so critical a time, it seems, a pope of courage and spirit, not sunk with age into covetousness or peevishness, was thought the fittest person for that see. France had sent no exclusion to bar him, not imagining that he could be thought on. At first they did not seem pleased with the choice; but it was too late to oppose it; so they resolved to gain him to their interests, in which they have succeeded beyond what they then hoped for. When the court of France had notice sent them of the late King of Spain's will, real or pretended, they seemed to be at a stand for some days; and the letters wrote from the secretary's office, gave it out for certain, that the King would stick to the partition treaty. Madame de Maintenon had an unspeakable fondness for the Duke of Anjou: so she prevailed with the Dauphin to accept of the will, and set aside the treaty: she also engaged Pontchartrain to second this.

The King of  
Spain's will  
is accepted.

They being thus prepared, when the news of the King of Spain's death came to Fontainebleau, where the court was at that time, Mr. Spanheim, who was then there as ambassador of Prussia, told me, that a cabinet council was called within two hours after the news came: it met in Madamo



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de Maintenon's lodgings, and sate about four hours. Pontchartrain was for accepting the will, and the rest of the ministry were for adhering to the treaty: but the Dauphin joined for accepting the will with an air of positiveness that he had never assumed before: so it was believed to be done by concert with the King, who was reserved, and seemed more inclined to the treaty. In conclusion, Madame Maintenon said, what had the Duke of Anjou done to provoke the King, to bar him of his right to that succession? and upon this all submitted to the Dauphin's opinion, and the King seemed overcome with their reasons.

This was on Monday; but though the matter was resolved on, yet it was not published till Thursday; for then, at the King's levee, he declared, that he accepted of the will, and the Duke of Anjou was now treated as King of Spain. Notice of this being sent to Spain, an ambassador came in form to signify the will, and to desire that their King might go and live among them: upon which he was sent thither, accompanied by his two brothers, who went with him to the frontiers of Spain. When the court of France published this resolution, and sent it to all the courts of Europe, they added a most infamous excuse for this notorious breach of faith. They said, the King of France considered chiefly what was the main design of the treaty, which was to maintain the peace of Europe; and therefore, to pursue this, he departed from the words of the treaty; but he adhered to the spirit and the chief intent of it. This seemed to be an equivocation of so gross a nature, that it looked like the invention of a Jesuit confessor, adding impudence to perjury. The King and the states were struck with this: the King was full of indignation to find himself so much abused; so he came over to England to see what was to be done upon so great an emergency. The Spaniards, seeing themselves threatened with a war from the Emperor, and apprehending that the empire, together with England and the United Provinces, might be engaged to join in the war, and being unable to defend themselves, delivered all into the hands of France: and upon that both the Spanish Netherlands, and the Dutchy of Milan, received French garrisons. The French fleet came to Cadiz; a squadron was also sent to the West Indies; so that the whole Spanish empire fell now, without

The Duke  
of Anjou  
declared  
King of  
Spain.

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a stroke of the sword, into the French power. All this was the more formidable, because the Duke of Burgundy had then no children; and, by this means, the King of Spain was in time likely to succeed to the crown of France: and thus the world saw the appearance of a new universal monarchy like to arise out of this conjunction.

A new parliament summoned.

It might have been expected that, when such a new unlooked-for scene was opened, the King should have lost no time in bringing his parliament together, as soon as possible. It was prorogued to the 20th of November, and the King had sent orders from Holland, to signify his resolution for their meeting on that day: but the ministers, whom he was then bringing into his business, had other views: they thought they were not sure of a majority in parliament for their purposes, so they prevailed with the King to dissolve the parliament; and, after a set of sheriffs were pricked, fit for the turn, a new parliament was summoned to meet on the 6th day of February; but it was not opened till the 10th.

And now I am come to the end of this century, in which there was a black appearance of a new and dismal scene. France was now in possession of a great empire, for a small part of which they had been in wars (broke off indeed in some intervals) for above two hundred years, while we in England, who were to protect and defend the rest, were, by wretched factions and violent animosities, running into a feeble and disjointed state: the King's cold and reserved manner, upon so high a provocation, made some conclude that he was in secret engagements with France, that he was resolved to own the new King of Spain, and not to engage in a new war: this seemed so different from his own inclinations, and from all the former parts of his life, that it made many conclude, that he found himself in an ill state of health, the swelling of his legs being much increased, and that this might have such effects on his mind as to make him less warm and active, less disposed to involve himself in new troubles, and that he might think it too inconsiderate a thing to enter on a new war that was not like to end soon, when he felt himself in a declining state of health; but the true secret of this unaccountable behaviour in the King was soon discovered.

The Earl of Rochester was now set at the head of his

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business, and was to bring the tories into his service; they had continued, from his first accession to the throne, in a constant opposition to his interests; many of them were believed to be jacobites in their hearts, and they were generally much against the toleration, and violent enemies to the dissenters; they had been backward in every thing that was necessary for carrying on the former war; they had opposed taxes as much as they could, and were against all such as were easily levied, and less sensibly felt by the people, and were always for those that were most grievous to the nation, hoping that by those heavy burdens, the people would grow weary of the war, and of the government: on the contrary, the whigs, by supporting both, were become less acceptable to the nation: in elections, their interest was much sunk, every new parliament was a new discovery that they were become less popular, and the others, who were always opposing and complaining, were now cried up as the patriots. In the three last sessions, the whigs had shewed such a readiness to give the King more force, together with a management to preserve the grants of Ireland, that they were publicly charged as betrayers of their country, and as men that were for trusting the King with an army: in a word, they were accused of too ready a compliance with the humours and interests of courts and favourites, so they were generally censured and decried: and now, since they had not succeeded to the King's mind, some about him possessed him with this, that either they would not, or could not serve him: in some of them, indeed, their principles lay against those things; whereas, the tories' principles did naturally lead them to make the crown great and powerful: it was also said, that the great opposition made to every thing the King desired, and the difficulties that had been of late put upon him, flowed chiefly from the hatred borne to those who were employed by him, and who had brought in their friends and creatures into the best posts; and they were now studying to recover their lost popularity, which would make them cold, if not backward, in complying with what the King might desire for the future: the whigs did also begin to complain of the King's conduct, of his minding affairs so little, of his being so much out of the kingdom, and of his ill choice of favourites, and they imputed the late miscarriages to errors in conduct, which

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they could neither prevent nor redress: the favourites, who thought of nothing but to continue in favour, and to be still safe and secure in their credit, concurred to press the King to take other measures, and to turn to another set of men, who would be no longer his enemies if they had some of the best places shared among them; and though this method had been almost fatal when the King had followed it, soon after his first accession to the crown, yet there seemed to be less danger in trying it now than was formerly. We were in full peace; and it was commonly said, that nobody thought any more of King James, and therefore it was fit, for the King's service, to encourage all his people to come into his interests, by letting them see how soon he could forget all that was past. These considerations had so far prevailed with him, that before he went out of England, he had engaged himself secretly to them: it is true, the death, first of the Duke of Gloucester, and now of the King of Spain, had very much changed the face of affairs, both at home and abroad; yet the King would not break off from his engagements.

Soon after his return to England, the Earl of Rochester was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he had the chief direction of affairs: and, that the most eminent man of the whigs might not oppose them in the new parliament, they got Mr. Montague to be made a baron, who took the title of Hallifax, which was sunk by the death of that Marquis, without issue male. The man on whose management of the House of Commons the new set depended, was Mr. Harley, the heir of a family, which had been hitherto the most eminent of the presbyterian party; his education was in that way; but he, not being considered at the Revolution as he thought he deserved, had set himself to oppose the court in every thing, and to find fault with the whole administration. He had the chief hand, both in the reduction of the army, and in the matter of the Irish grants: the high party trusted him, though he still kept up an interest among the presbyterians; and he had so particular a dexterity, that he made both the high church party and the dissenters depend upon him; so it was agreed that he should be speaker. All this while, the new ministers talked of nothing but negotiations, and gave it out, that the King of France was ready to give all the security that

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could be desired for maintaining the peace of Europe. At this time, the Emperor sent over to England a minister, to set forth his title to the Spanish monarchy, settled on his house by ancient entails, often repeated, and now devolving on him by an undoubted right, since, by the renunciation of the late Queen of France, (as was stipulated by the treaty of the Pyrennees, and then made by her in due form) this could not be called in question. Our new ministers were scarce civil to the Emperor's envoy; and would not enter into any consultations with him: but the Dutch, who were about the King, and all the foreign ministers, spoke in another style: they said, that nothing but a general union of all the powers in Europe, could hinder the conjunction of the two monarchies: so, by what those who talked often with the King, gave out, it came to be soon known, that the King saw the necessity of a new war, but that he kept himself in a great reserve, that he might manage his new ministers, and their party, and see if he could engage them to concur with him.

But, before I conclude the relation of this year, at which the century ends, I must close it with an account of the King of Sweden's glorious campaign. He made all the haste he could to relieve Livonia, where not only Riga was for some months besieged by the King of Poland, but Narva was also attacked by the Czar, who hoped by taking it, to get an entrance into the Baltic: the Czar came in person against it, with an army of one hundred thousand men. Narva was not provided for a siege: it had a small garrison, and had very poor magazines; yet the Muscovites attacked it so feebly, that it held out beyond expectation, till the end of the year. Upon the King of Sweden's landing at Revel, the Saxons drew off from Riga, after a long siege at a vast charge. This being done, and Riga both opened and supplied, that King marched next to Narva. The Czar, upon his march towards him, left his army in such a manner, as made all people conclude, he had no mind to hazard his own person. The King marched through ways that were thought so impracticable, that little care had been taken to secure them: so he surprised the Muscovites, and broke into their camp, before they apprehended he was near them: he totally routed their army, took many prisoners, with all their artillery and baggage,

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and so made a glorious entry into Narva. This is the noblest campaign that we find in any history; in which a King about eighteen years of age, led an army himself against three kings, who had confederated against him, and was successful in every one of his attempts, giving great marks both of personal courage and good conduct in them all; and, which is more extraordinary, an eminent measure both of virtue and piety appeared in his whole behaviour. In him the world hoped to see another Gustavus Adolphus, who conquered, or rather possessed himself of Livonia, in the same year of his age, in which this King did now so gloriously recover it, when almost lost by the invasion of two powerful neighbours. There were great disorders at this time in Lithuania, occasioned by the factions there, which were set on and fomented by the King, who seemed to aspire to be the hereditary King of Poland. But as these things are at a great distance from us, so, since we have no public minister in those parts, I cannot give an account of them, nor form a true judgment thereupon. The eighteenth century began with a great scene, that opened with it.

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Great apprehensions of the danger Europe was now in.

The new King of Spain wrote to all the courts of Europe, giving notice of his accession to that crown, only he forgot England: and it was publicly given out, that he had promised the pretended Prince of Wales, that in due time he would take care of his interests. The King and the states were much alarmed, when they beheld the French possessed of the Spanish Netherlands: a great part of the Dutch army lay scattered up and down in those garrisons, more particularly in Luxemburgh, Namur, and Mons, and these were now made prisoners of war; neither officers nor soldiers could own the King of Spain, for their masters had not yet done it: at this time the French pressed the states very hard to declare themselves: a great party in the states were for owning him, at least in form, till they could get their troops again into their own hands, according to capitulation: nor were they, then, in a condition to resist the impression that might have been made upon them from the garrisons in the Spanish Guelder, who would have attacked them before they were able to make head: so the states consented to own the King of Spain. That being done, their battalions were sent back, but they were ill used, con-

trary to capitulation, and the soldiers were tempted to desert their service, yet very few could be prevailed on to do it.

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As soon as parliament was opened, it appeared that the French had a great party in it: it is certain, great sums came over this winter from France; the packet-boat came seldom without ten thousand Louis d'ors, it brought often more: the nation was filled with them, and in six months' time, a million of guineas were coined out of them. The merchants indeed said, that the balance of trade was then so much turned to our side, that, whereas we were wont to carry over a million of our money in specie, we then sent no money to France; and had, at least, half that sum sent over to balance the trade: yet this did not account for that vast flood of French gold, that was visible amongst us: and, upon the French ambassador's going away, a very sensible alteration was found in the bills of exchange: so it was concluded, that great remittances were made to him, and that these were distributed among those, who resolved to merit a share in that wealth which came over now so copiously, beyond the example of former times. The King, in his speech to the parliament, in the most effectual manner possible, recommended the settling the succession of the crown in the protestant line; and, with relation to foreign affairs, he laid them before the two houses, that they might offer him such advices, as the state of the nation and her alliances required: but he did not so much as intimate to them his own thoughts concerning them. A design was laid, in the House of Commons, to open the session with an address to the King, that he would own the King of Spain: the matter was so concerted, that they had agreed on the words of the vote, and seemed not to doubt of the concurrence of the House; but Mr. Monkton opposed it with great heat, and, among other things, said, if that vote was carried, he should expect that the next vote to be put, would be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales. Upon this occasion it appeared, how much popular assemblies are apt to be turned by a thing boldly said, though the consequence is ever so remote, since the connexion of these two points lay at some distance, yet the issue of the debate was quite contrary to that which was designed: it ended in an address to the King, to enter into

A party for  
France in  
parliament.

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new alliances with the states, for our mutual defence, and for preserving the liberty and the peace of Europe: these last words were not carried without much difficulty: they were considered, as they were indeed, an insinuation towards a war.

Partiality in  
judging  
elections.

Upon the view of the House, it appeared very evidently, that the tories were a great majority; yet they, to make the matter sure, resolved to clear the house of a great many that were engaged in another interest. Reports were brought to them of elections that had been scandalously purchased by some who were concerned in the new East India Company. Instead of drinking and entertainments, by which elections were formerly managed, now a most scandalous practice was brought in of buying votes, with so little decency, that the electors engaged themselves by subscription, to choose a blank person before they were trusted with the name of their candidate. The old East India Company had driven a course of corruption within doors, with so little shame, that the new Company intended to follow their example; but with this difference, that, whereas the former had bought the persons who were elected, they resolved to buy elections. Sir Edward Seymour, who had dealt in this corruption his whole life-time, and whom the old Company was said to have bought before, at a very high price, brought before the House of Commons the discovery of some of the practices of the new Company. The examining into these took up many days. In conclusion, the matter was so well proved, that several elections were declared void; and some of the persons so chosen, were for some time kept in prison; after that they were expelled the House. In these proceedings, great partiality appeared; for when, in some cases, corruption was proved clearly against some of the tory party, and but doubtfully against some of the contrary side, that which was voted corruption in the latter, was called the giving alms in those of the former sort. Thus, for some weeks, the House seemed to have forgot all the concerns of Europe, and was wholly employed in the weakening of one side, and in fortifying the other. To make some shew of zeal for the public safety, they voted thirty thousand men for the fleet; but they would allow no marines, though they were told, that a fleet without these was only a good security for our own defence, but could



have no influence on the affairs of Europe, either to frighten or to encourage those abroad. Such a fleet as it could not offend; so it was much too strong, if it was intended only for a defence, and it looked like a needless wasting the treasure of the nation, to employ so much of it to so little purpose, and only to make a shew.

While the House of Commons was going on, minding only party matters, a design was laid in the House of Lords, to attack the partition treaty, and some of those who were concerned in it. They begun with an address to the King, that he would order all the treaties made, since the peace of Ryswick, to be laid before them. This was complied with so slowly, that they were not brought to the House till the 26th of February, and no notice was taken of them till the 10th of March. It soon appeared that this was done by a French direction. The court of France (perceiving that the Dutch were alarmed at their neighbourhood, and were increasing their force, both by sea and land, and were calling upon their allies to furnish their quotas, which they were bound by treaties to send to their defence), entered upon a negotiation with them at the Hague, to try what would lay their fears. Upon this, in the beginning of March, the states, in conjunction with Mr. Stanhope, the English envoy at the Hague, gave in memorials, in which they insisted on the violation of the partition treaty, and particularly on the French possessing themselves of the Spanish Netherlands: they also desired, that the Emperor might have just satisfaction in his pretensions; and that, in the mean while, Luxemburgh, Namur, Mons, and Aeth, might be put in their hands; and Ostend and Newport into the hands of the English, and both they and the Dutch might have a free trade, as before, to all the Spanish dominions. The French, seeing these demands run so high, and being resolved to offer no other security for the peace of Europe, but the renewing the treaty of Ryswick, set all their engines at work in England, to involve us into such contentions at home, as should both disable us from taking any care of foreign affairs, and make the rest of Europe conclude, that nothing considerable was to be expected from England. As soon as the news of those memorials could come to England, the Marquis of Normanby, and the rest of the tories, took up the debate concerning the partition treaty:

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The partition treaty charged in the House of Lords.

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this they managed with great dexterity, while the matter was as much neglected by the King, who went that day to Hampton Court, where he staid some time: by this means no directions were given, and we were involved in great difficulties before the court was aware of it. The King either could not prevail with his new ministers to excuse the treaty, if they would not justify it; or he neglected them so far, as not to speak to them at all about it. Those who attacked it, said they meant nothing in that but to offer the King advices for the future, to prevent such errors as had been committed in that treaty, both as to matter and form. They blamed the giving such territories to the crown of France, and the forsaking the Emperor. They also complained of the secrecy, in which the treaty was carried on, it being not communicated to the English council or ministry, but privately transacted by the Earls of Portland and Jersey. They also blamed the putting the great seal, first to blank powers, and then to the treaty itself, which the King's new ministers said was unjust in the contrivance, and ridiculous in the execution. To all this it was answered, that there not being a force ready and sufficient to hinder the French from possessing themselves of the Spanish monarchy, which they were prepared for, the Emperor had desired the King to enter into a treaty of partition, and had consented to every article of it, except that which related to the dutchy of Milan; but the King, not thinking that worth the engaging in a new war, had obtained an exchange of it for the dutchy of Lorraine. The Emperor did not agree to this, yet he pressed the King not to break off the treaty, but to get the best terms he could for him; and above all things, he recommended secrecy, that so he might not lose his interest in Spain, by seeming to consent to this partition. It is certain, that by our constitution all foreign negotiations were trusted entirely to the crown: that the King was under no obligation by law to communicate such secrets to his council, or to hear, much less was he obliged to follow, their advices. In particular it was said, that the keeper of the great seal had no sort of authority to deny the putting it, either to powers for a treaty, or to any treaty which the King should agree to. The law gives no direction in such matters, and he could not refuse to put the great seal to any thing, for which he had an order from the

King, unless the matter was contrary to law, which had no provision in this case. They insisted most on the other side, upon the concluding a treaty of this importance, without communicating it first to the privy council; so the first day of the debate ended with this.

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The Earl of Portland, apprehending that this might fall too heavy on him, got the King's leave to communicate the whole matter next day to the House; so he told them, that he had not concluded the treaty alone, but had, by the King's order, acquainted six of his chief ministers with it, who were the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the Viscount Lonsdale, the Lords Somers and Hallifax, and Secretary Vernon: upon which, those Lords, being likewise freed by the King from the oath of secrecy, told the House, that the Earl of Jersey having in the King's name called them together, the treaty was read to them, and that they excepted to several things in it, but they were told that the King had carried the matter as far as was possible, and that he could obtain no better terms: so, when they were told that no alterations could be made, but that every thing was settled, they gave over insisting on particulars; they only advised, that the King might not engage himself in any thing that would bring on a new war, since the nation had been so uneasy under the last: this was carried to the King, and a few days after that, he told some of them that he was made acquainted with their exceptions, but how reasonable soever they were, he had driven the matter as far as he could. The Earl of Pembroke said, to the House of Lords, he had offered the King those advices, that he thought were most for his service, and for the good of the nation; but that he did not think himself bound to give an account of that to any other persons: he was not the man struck at, so there was nothing said, either against him, or the Earls of Marlborough or Jersey. Upon this, the debate went on: some said, this was a mockery to ask advice when there was no room for it: it was answered, the King had asked the advice of his privy council, and they had given it; but, that such was the regal prerogative, that it was still free to him to follow it or not, as he saw cause.

The Lords  
advised  
with in it,  
opposed it.

In conclusion, the House of Lords resolved to set out this whole matter in an address to the King, complaining both of the partition treaty, and of the method in which it

An address  
to the King  
about it.

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had been carried on: the Lord Wharton moved an addition to the address, that, whereas the French King had broke that treaty, they should advise the King to treat no more with him, or rely on his word without further security. This was much opposed by all those who were against the engaging in a new war: they said, all motions of that kind ought to come from the House of Commons, who only could support such an advice, that did upon the matter engage us into a new war; nor would they lay any blame on the breaking of a treaty, which they were resolved to condemn: they also excepted to the words "further security," as ambiguous; yet the majority of the House agreed to it, for there was such treachery in the French negotiations, that they could not be relied on without a good guarantee, and the pledge of some strong places. It now plainly appeared, that the design was to set on the House of Commons to impeach some of the lords who had been concerned in the partition treaty, for it was moved to send the address to the House of Commons for their concurrence; but that was not carried. The King seemed to bear all this with his usual coldness, and the new ministers continued still in his confidence, but he laid the matter much to heart; now he saw the error he had fallen into by the change he had made in the ministry: it was plain they resolved to govern him in every thing, and not to be governed by him in any one thing.

Memorials  
sent from  
the states.

As soon as this was over, the Earl of Jersey did, by the King's order, bring to the House of Lords the memorials that had been given in at the Hague; and then, by comparing dates, it was easy to conjecture, why the partition treaty had been let lie so long on the table, and it seemed as if it was taken up at last, only to blast this negotiation; a French management appearing very plainly in the whole steps that had been made. The House of Commons began, at the same time, not only to complain of the partition treaty, but likewise of the demand of Ostend and Newport, nor would they shew any concern for the Emperor's pretensions. The Dutch demanded the execution of the treaty that King Charles had made with them in the year 1677, by which England was bound to assist them with ten thousand men, and twenty ships of war, if they were attacked: some endeavoured, all that was possible, to put this off for the

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present, pretending that they were not yet attacked; others moved, that the pay of ten thousand men might be given to them with the twenty ships, as a full equivalent to the treaty; yet, they not liking this, it was in conclusion agreed to send the ten thousand men; five thousand of these were to be drawn out of the army in Ireland, and five thousand of them were to be new levied; but they took care that Ireland should not be provided with any new forces in their stead, so jealous were they of trusting the King with an army. The representation sent over by the states, setting forth the danger they were in, and desiring the assistance of England, was penned with great spirit, and in a very moving strain: the House of Lords did, upon a debate on that subject, make an address to the King, to enter into leagues offensive and defensive with the Emperor and other princes and states, who were interested against the conjunction of the French and Spanish monarchies; but the House of Commons could not, upon this occasion, be carried further, than to advise the King to enter into such alliances as should be necessary for our common security, and for the peace of Europe. This coldness and uncertainty in our councils, gave the French great advantages in their negotiations, both in Germany and in Portugal: they tried the courts of Italy, but without success; only the Duke of Mantua consented, that they should make a shew, as if they had surprised him, and so force him to put Mantua in their hands. The Pope and the Venetians would not declare themselves; the Pope favoured the French, as the Venetians did the Emperor, who began the war with a pretension on the Dutchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire that devolved on him; and he was making magazines, both in Tirol and at Trent. The French seemed to despise all he could do, and did not apprehend that it was possible for him to march an army into Italy; both the King and the states pressed him to make the attempt. The Elector of Bavaria, and some of the circles had agreed to a neutrality this year, so there was no hope of doing much upon the Rhine, and the French were making the Italians feel, what insolent masters they were like to prove; so a general uneasiness among them determined the Emperor to send an army into Italy, under the command of Prince Eugene. England was all this while very unwilling to engage; yet, for fear we

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A design to  
impeach the  
former mi-  
nistry.

should at last have seen our interest so clearly, that we must have fallen into it, those who were practised on to embroil us, so that we might not be in a condition to mind foreign affairs, set on foot a design to impeach the former ministry.

The handle that brought this about was given by the Earl of Portland: when he was excusing his own part in the partition treaty, he said, that having withdrawn himself from business, and being at his country house in Holland, the King sent to him, desiring him to enter upon that negotiation: upon that he wrote to Secretary Vernon, to ask his advice, and the advice of his other friends, whether it was fit for him to meddle in that matter, since his being by birth a foreigner, seemed a just excuse for not engaging in a thing of such consequence. To this Secretary Vernon answered, that all his friends thought he was a very proper person to be employed in that treaty, since he had known the progress of all those treaties, and the persons who were employed on that occasion; and he named the Lord Somers among those who had advised this. The Earl of Portland had mistaken this circumstance, which did not belong to the last partition treaty, but to that of the year before, in favour of the Prince Electoral of Bavaria. The House of Commons hearing of this, required Secretary Vernon to lay before them that letter, with his answer to it; for the Earl of Portland said, that he had left all papers relating to that matter in Holland. Vernon said, he had received no such letter in the year 1699; so that led them to inquire farther, and they required him to lay before them all the letters he had relating to both treaties: he said, those were the King's secrets, writ in confidence, by the persons he employed. But in such a case a House of Commons will not be put off: a denial rather raises in them more earnestness in following their point: it was said, the King had dispensed with the oath of secrecy, when he ordered all matters to be laid before them, and they would admit of no excuse. Vernon, upon this, went to the King, and told him, since these were his secrets, he was ready to expose himself to the indignation of the House, and to refuse to shew his letters: but the King said, his refusing to do it would not only raise a storm against himself, from which the King could not protect him, but it would occasion an address to the King, to order him to lay every thing before the House, which, in

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the state that things were in then, he could not deny: Vernon upon these orders, given him at two different times, carried all the letters, and laid them before the House of Commons. It appeared by these, that he had communicated the treaty to the King's ministers, who were in town, about the end of August, 1698: that Lord Somers being then at Tunbridge, he went to him; and that he had communicated the project both to the Earl of Orford and the Lord Hallifax: several objections were made by them to many parts of the treaty, which were mentioned in Vernon's letters; but, if better terms could not be had, they thought it was better to conclude the treaty, than to leave the Spanish monarchy to be overrun by France, or to involve Europe in a new war. Lord Somers had also put the seals to blank powers for concluding this treaty. When all this was read, those who were set on to blow up the flame, moved the House to impeach some of the ministers, who had been concerned in this transaction; yet in this they proceeded with so visible a partiality, that though the Earl of Jersey had signed the treaty, had been plenipotentiary at Ryswick, ambassador in France, and secretary of state, while the partition treaty was negotiating; yet he, having joined himself to the new ministry, was not questioned about it: the party said, he had been too easily drawn into it, but that he was not in the secret, and had no share in the councils that projected it.

On the 1st of April the House of Commons brought up a general impeachment of the Earl of Portland, for high crimes and misdemeanors; but the chief design was against the Earl of Orford and the Lords Somers and Hallifax. Their enemies tried again what use could be made of Kid's business, for he was taken in our northern plantations in America, and brought over: he was examined by the House, but either he could not lay a probable story together, or some remnants of honesty, raised in him by the near prospect of death, restrained him: he accused no person of having advised or encouraged his turning pirate; he had never talked alone with any of the lords, and never at all with Lord Somers: he said, he had no orders from them but to pursue his voyage against the pirates in Madagascar. All endeavours were used to persuade him to accuse the lords; he was assured that if he did it, he should

They are  
impeached.

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be preserved; and if he did not, he should certainly die for his piracy: yet this could not prevail on him to charge them; so he, with some of his crew, were hanged, there appearing not so much as a colour to fasten any imputation on those lords: yet their enemies tried what use could be made of the grant of all that Kid might recover from the pirates, which some bold and ignorant lawyers affirmed to be against law: so this matter was for the fourth time debated in the House of Commons; and the behaviour of those peers in it appeared to be so innocent, so legal, and in truth so meritorious, that it was again let fall. The insisting so much on it, served to convince all people, that the enemies of these lords wanted not inclinations, but only matter to charge them, since they made so much use of this: but so partial was a great part of the House, that the dropping this was carried only by a small majority. When one design failed, another was set up.

Lord Somers heard by the House of Commons.

It was pretended, that by Secretary Vernon's letters, it was clearly proved, that the Lord Somers had consented to the partition treaty: so a debate coming on concerning that, Lord Somers desired that he might be admitted, to give an account of his share in it to the House of Commons: some opposition was made to this, but it had been always granted, so it could not be denied him: he had obtained the King's leave to tell every thing; so that when he appeared before the House, he told them, the King had writ to him, that the state of the King of Spain's health was desperate, and that he saw no way to prevent a new war, but to accept of the proposition the French made for a partition: the King sent him the scheme of this, and ordered him to communicate it to some others, and to give him both his own opinion and theirs concerning it, and to send him over powers for a treaty, but in the secretest manner that was possible: yet the King added, that if he and his other ministers thought that a treaty ought not to be made upon such a project, then the whole matter must be let fall, for he could not bring the French to better terms. Lord Somers upon this said, that he thought it was the taking too much upon himself, if he should have put a stop to a treaty of such consequence. If the King of Spain had died before it was finished, and the blame had been cast on him for not sending the necessary powers, because he was not



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ordered to do it, by a warrant in full form, he could not have justified that, since the King's letter was really a warrant, and therefore he thought he was bound to send the powers that were called for, which he had done. But, at the same time, he wrote his own opinion very fully to the King, objecting to many particulars, if there was room for it, and proposing several things, which, as he thought, were for the good and interest of England. Soon after the powers were sent over by him, the treaty was concluded, to which he put the great seal, as he thought he was bound to do. In this, as he was a privy counsellor, he had offered the King his best advice; and, as he was chancellor, he had executed his office according to his duty. As for putting the seal to the powers, he had done it upon the King's letter, which was a real warrant, though not a formal one. He had, indeed, desired that a warrant, in due form, might be sent him for his own security; but he did not think it became him to endanger the public, only for want of a point of form, in so critical a time, where great dispatch was requisite. He spoke so fully and so clearly, that, upon his withdrawing, it was believed, if the question had been quickly put, the whole matter had been soon at an end, and that the prosecution would have been let fall: but his enemies drew out the debate to such a length, that the impression which his speech had made was much worn out; and the House sitting till it was past midnight, they at last carried it by a majority of seven or eight to impeach him and the Earl of Orford, and the Lord Hallifax, of high crimes and misdemeanors. The general impeachment was brought up the next day to the Lords' bar.

The Commons were very sensible that those impeachments must come to nothing, and that they had not a majority in the House of Lords to judge in them as they should direct; so they resolved on a shorter way to fix a severe censure on the Lords whom they had thus impeached: they voted an address to the King, for excluding them from his presence and councils for ever; this had never gone along with an impeachment before: the House of Commons had indeed begun such a practice in King Charles the Second's time. When they disliked a minister, but had not matter to ground an impeachment on, they had taken this method of making an address against him, but it was

Contrary addresses of the two Houses.

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a new attempt to come with an address after an impeachment: this was punishing before trial, contrary to an indispensable rule of justice of not judging before the parties were heard: the Lords saw that this made their judicature ridiculous, when, in the first instance of an accusation, application was made to the King for a censure, and a very severe one, since few misdemeanors could deserve a harder sentence. Upon these grounds, the Lords prevented the Commons, and sent some of their body to the King, with an address praying him that he would not proceed to any censure of these Lords till they had undergone their trial. The King received these addresses, so contrary one to another, from both Houses, but made no answer to either of them; unless the letting the names of these Lords continue still in the council books, might be taken as a refusing to grant what the Commons had desired. They renewed their address, but had no direct answer from the King: this, though a piece of common justice, was complained of, and it was said that these Lords had still great credit with the King: the Commons had, for form's sake, ordered a committee to prepare articles of impeachment, but they intended to let the matter sleep; thinking, that what they had already done had so marked those Lords, that the King could not employ them any more; for that was the main thing they drove at.

The King  
owns the  
King of  
Spain.

While this was in agitation, a letter came to the King from the King of Spain, giving notice of his accession to that crown. It was dated the day after he entered into Spain, but the date and the letter were visibly writ at different times. The King ordered the letter to be read in the cabinet council; there was some short debate concerning it, but it was never brought into any further deliberation there. The Earl of Rochester saw the King seemed distrustful of him, and reserved to him in that matter, and was highly offended at it: he and the rest of the new ministry pressed the King to own the King of Spain, and to answer his letter; and, since the Dutch had done it, it seemed reasonable that the King should likewise do it: they prevailed at last, but with much difficulty: the thing was kept secret, and was not communicated to the privy council, or to the two Houses, nor did the King speak of it to any of the foreign ministers: the Paris gazette gave the world the

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first notice of it. This being carried in such a manner, seemed the more strange, because his ministry had so lately condemned a former one for not communicating the partition treaty to the council before it was concluded; and yet had, in a matter of great consequence, so soon forgot the censures they had thrown out so liberally, upon the secrecy with which that matter had been transacted. While things were moving in such a slow and uncertain pace in England, the Dutch had daily new alarms brought them of the forces that the French were pouring into their neighbourhood; into the Spanish Guelder on the one hand, and into Antwerp on the other: so that they were apprehensive of a design both upon Nimeguen and Bergen-op-Zoom. They took the best care they could to secure their frontier. The negotiations went on slowly at the Hague: the French rejected all their demands, and offered nothing but to renew the peace of Ryswick: this the Dutch laid again before the King in a very awakening strain; and he sent all to the House of Commons, but they could not be brought to declare that the offers made by the French were not sufficient. D'Avaux, seeing this coldness in our counsels, refused to treat any more with the Dutch, in conjunction with the envoy of England, and said his powers directed him only to them: this put a full stop to all further treaty; for the states said they were engaged in such a close conjunction with England, that they could not enter on a separate treaty. In the meanwhile they armed powerfully; and our fleet, in conjunction with theirs, were masters of the sea; but, for want of marines, they were in no condition to make any impression on the enemy. The Emperor went on with his preparation for a campaign in Italy: the French sent an army into the Milanese, that they reckoned would be much superior to any force the Emperor could send thither: the Duke of Savoy was engaged in the interest of France, by King Philip's marrying his second daughter: the Pope still refused to give the investiture of Naples, or to accept the annual present; for he would not quite break with the Emperor.

The French practices were every where the more prevalent, because they gave out that England would not engage in a war, and the face of our affairs looked but dark at home: the Emperor's ministers had an uneasy time among us; the King encouraged them, but the new ministers were

Negotiations in several places.

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scarce civil to them, and studied to put them quite out of hope. The King of Denmark entered into a treaty with the Emperor and the states. Great pains were taken to mediate a peace between Sweden and Poland. The court of France, as well as that of Vienna, tried it; both sides hoping that Sweden, if not Poland, might enter into their interests: the French reckoned that Denmark and Sweden could never be on the same side; so when they found they could not gain Denmark, they tried a mediation, hoping to get Sweden into an alliance with them—but all attempts for a mediation proved unsuccessful. The diet of Poland was put off, and their King being delivered from them, resolved to carry on the war. The Spaniards, and the subjects of their other dominions, began to feel the insolence of the French very sensibly; but nothing was more uneasy to them than the new regulations they were endeavouring to bring in to lessen the expense of the court of Spain. So they seemed well disposed to entertain a new pretender.

An act declaring a protestant succession.

While all these things were in a ferment all Europe over, the declaring a protestant successor, after the Princess and such issue as she might have, seemed to be forgot by our parliament, though the King had begun his speech with it. The new ministers spoke of it with much zeal: from this their friends made inferences in their favour, that certainly men, in the interests of France, would not promote a design so destructive of all they drove at: this was so little of a piece with the rest of their conduct, that those who were still jealous of their sincerity, looked on it as a blind to cover their ill designs, and to gain them some credit; for they could not but see, that if France was once possessed of the power and wealth of Spain, our laws, and every thing that we could do to support them, would prove but feeble defences. The manner in which this motion of the succession was managed, did not carry in it great marks of sincerity: it was often put off from one day to another, and it gave place to the most trifling matters. At last, when a day was solemnly set for it, and all people expected that it should pass without any difficulty, Harley moved that some things previous to that might be first considered. He observed that the haste the nation was in, when the present government was settled, had made us go too fast, and overlook many securities, which might have prevented

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much mischief, and therefore he hoped they would not now fall into the same error. Nothing pressed them at present; so he moved they would settle some conditions of government, as preliminaries, before they should proceed to the nomination of the person, that so we might fix every thing that was wanting to make our security complete. This was popular, and took with many, and it had so fair an appearance, that indeed none could oppose it: some weeks were spent upon it. Suspicious people thought this was done on design to blast the motion, and to offer such extravagant limitations, as should quite change the form of our government, and render the crown titular and precarious. The King was alarmed at it, for almost every particular, that was proposed, implied a reflection on him and his administration, chiefly that of not employing strangers, and not going too often out of the kingdom. It was proposed, that every thing should be done with the advice of the privy-council, and every privy-counsellor was to sign his advice. All men, who had places or pensions, were made incapable of sitting in the House of Commons. All this was unacceptable to the King; so many who had an ill opinion of the design of those who were now at the helm, began to conclude, that the delays were affected, and that these limitations were designed to raise disputes between the two houses, by which the bill might be lost. When some time had been spent in those preliminaries, it came to the nomination of the person: Sir John Bowles, who was then disordered in his senses, and soon after quite lost them, was set on by the party, to be the first that should name the Electoress Dowager of Brunswick, which seemed done to make it less serious, when moved by such a person: he was, by the forms of the House, put in the chair of the committee, to whom the bill was committed. The thing was still put off for many weeks; at every time that it was called for, the motion was entertained with coldness, which served to heighten the jealousy: the committee once or twice sat upon it, but all the members ran out of the House with so much indecency, that the contrivers seemed ashamed of this management. There were seldom fifty or sixty at the committee, yet in conclusion, it passed, and was sent up to the Lords, where we expected great opposition would be made to it: some imagined, the act was only an

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artifice, designed to gain credit to those, who, at this time, were so ill thought of over the nation, that they wanted some colourable thing to excuse their other proceedings. Many of the lords absented themselves on design: some little opposition was made by the Marquis of Normanby; and four lords, the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the Lords Guilford and Jefferies, protested against it. Those who wished well to the act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it: they thought it of great importance to carry the act, and that, at another time, those limitations might be better considered. So the act passed, and the King sent it over by the Earl of Macclesfield to the Electress, together with the garter to the Elector. We reckoned it a great point carried, that we had now a law on our side for a protestant successor; for we plainly saw a great party formed against it, in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales. He was now past thirteen, bred up with a hatred both of our religion and our constitution, in an admiration of the French government; and yet many who called themselves protestants, seemed fond of such a successor: a degree of infatuation that might justly amaze all who observed it, and saw the fury with which it was promoted.

An act explaining privilege.

Another very good act passed this session, concerning the privilege of parliament. Peers had, by law or custom, a privilege for themselves and their servants, during the session, and at least twenty days before and after. Of late they have reckoned forty days before and after, in which neither they nor their servants could be sued in any court, unless for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. The House of Commons had also possessed themselves of the same privilege, but with this difference, that the Lords pretended theirs was a right, not subject to the order of the House of Lords; whereas the Commons held that their privilege was subject to the authority of their House. Of late years, sessions were long and continued by intermediate prorogations, so that the whole year round was a time of privilege: this made a great obstruction in the course of justice, and none, who were so protected, could be sued for debt. The abuse was carried further by the protections which some lords gave, or rather sold to persons, who were no way concerned in their affairs; but when they

needed this shelter, they had a pretended office given them, that was a bar to all arrests. After many fruitless attempts to regulate these abuses, a bill was brought into the House of Commons that took away all privilege against legal prosecutions, in intermediate prorogations; and did so regulate it, during the sitting of parliament, that an effectual remedy was provided for a grievance that had been long and much complained of: these were the only popular things that were done by this parliament, the rest of their proceedings shewed both the madness and fury of parties.

The impeachments lay long neglected in the House of Commons, and probably they would have been let sleep if the Lords concerned had not moved for a trial: on their motion messages were sent to the Commons to quicken their proceedings: at last, articles were framed and brought up, first against the Earl of Orford: he was charged for taking great grants from the King; Kid's business was objected to him: he was also charged for abuses in managing the fleet and victualling it when it lay on the coast of Spain, and for some orders he had given during his command; and, in conclusion, for his advising the partition treaty. And in setting this out, the Commons urged that the King, by the alliance made with the Emperor in the year 1689, was bound to maintain his succession to the crown of Spain, which they said was still in force: so the partition treaty was a breach of faith, contrary to that alliance, and this passed current in the House of Commons, without any debate or inquiry into it; for every thing was acceptable there that loaded that treaty and these lords: but they did not consider that by this they declared, they thought the King was bound to maintain the Emperor's right to that succession; yet this was not intended by those who managed the party, who had not hitherto given any countenance to the Emperor's pretensions: so apt are parties to make use of any thing that may serve a turn, without considering the consequences of it.

The Earl of Orford put in his answer in four days. He said, he had no grant of the King, but a reversion at a great distance, and a gift of 10,000*l.* after he had defeated the French at La Hogue, which he thought he might lawfully accept of, as all others before him had done: he opened Kid's matter, in which he had acted legally, with good in-

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Proceedings  
upon the im-  
peachments.

And first,  
the articles  
against the  
Earl of Or-  
ford.

The Earl of  
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swer.

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tentions to the public, and to his own loss: his accounts, while he commanded the fleet, had been all examined, and were passed; but he was ready to wave that, and to justify himself in every particular, and he denied his having given any advice about the partition treaty: this was immediately sent down to the Commons; but they let it lie before them without coming to a replication; which is only a piece of form, by which they undertake to make good their charge.

Articles of  
impeach-  
ment against  
Lord So-  
mers.

Articles were next sent up against the Lord Somers. In these the two partition treaties were copiously set forth, and it was laid down for a foundation that the King was bound to maintain the Emperor's right of succession to the crown of Spain. Lord Somers was charged for setting the seals, first to the powers and then to the treaties themselves: he was also charged for accepting some grants, and the manner of taking them was represented as fraudulent, he seeming to buy them of the King, and then getting himself discharged of the price contracted for. Kid's business was also mentioned, and dilatory and partial proceedings in chancery were objected to him. He put in his answer in a very few days: in the partition treaty, he said, he had offered the King very faithful advice as a counsellor, and had acted according to the duty of his post as chancellor; so he had nothing more to answer for: as for his grants, the King designed him a grant to such a value; the King was not deceived in the value; the manner of passing it was according to the usual methods of the Treasury, in order to make a grant sure, and out of the danger of being avoided. Kid's business was opened, as was formerly set forth; and, as to the Court of Chancery, he had applied himself wholly to the dispatch of business in it, with little regard to his own health or quiet, and had acted according to the best of his judgment, without fear or favour. This was presently sent down to the House of Commons, and upon that they were at a full stand: they framed no articles against the Earl of Portland, which was represented to the King as an expression of their respect to him.

Lord So-  
mers's an-  
swer.

Articles of  
impeach-  
ment against  
Lord Halli-  
fax.

Some time after this, near the end of the session, they sent up articles against the Lord Hallifax; which I mention here, that I may end this matter all at once. They charged him for a grant that he had in Ireland, and that he had not paid in the produce of it, as the act concerning those



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grants had enacted. They charged him for another grant out of the forest of Dean, to the waste of the timber, and prejudice of the navy of England: they charged him for holding places that were incompatible, being, at the same time, both a commissioner of the Treasury, and auditor of the Exchequer; and, in conclusion, he was charged for advising the two partition treaties. He was as quick with his answer as the other lords had been. He said, his grant in Ireland was of some debts and sums of money, and so was not thought to be within the act concerning confiscated estates. All he had ever received of it was 400*l*. If he was bound to repay it, he was liable to an action for it; but every man was not to be impeached, who did not pay his debts at the day of payment. His grant in the forest of Dean was only of the weedings; so it could be no waste of timber, nor a prejudice to the navy. The auditor's place was held by another, till he obtained the King's leave to withdraw from the Treasury. As for the first partition treaty, he never once saw it, nor was he ever advised with in it. As for the second, he gave his advice very freely about it, at the single time, in which he had ever heard any thing concerning it: this was sent down to the Commons, but was never so much as once read by them. When, by these articles, and the answers to them, it appeared, that after all the noise and clamour that had been raised against the former ministry (more particularly against the Lord Hallifax) for the great waste of treasure, during their administration, that now, upon the strictest search, all ended in such poor accusations; it turned the minds of many that had been formerly prejudiced against them. It appeared, that it was the animosity of a party at best, if it was not a French practice, to ruin men who had served the King faithfully, and to discourage others from engaging themselves so far in his interests as these lords had done. They saw the effect that must follow on this, and that the King could not enter upon a new war, if they could discourage from his service all the men of lively and active tempers, that would raise a spirit in the nation, for supporting such an important and dangerous war, as this now in prospect was like to prove.

Lord Hallifax's answer.

This gave a general disgust to all England, more particularly to the city of London, where foreign affairs, and

The proceedings of

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parliament  
much cen-  
sured.

The Kentish  
petition.

the interest of trade, were generally better understood. The old East India Company, though they hated the ministry that set up the new, and studied to support this House of Commons, from whom they expected much favour; yet they, as well as the rest of the city, saw visibly that first the ruin of trade, and then, as a consequence of that, the ruin of the nation must certainly ensue, if France and Spain were once firmly united: so they began openly to condemn the proceedings of the Commons, and to own a jealousy, that the Louis d'ors sent hither of late had not come over to England for nothing. This disposition to blame the slowness in which the House of Commons proceeded, with relation to foreign affairs, and the heat with which private quarrels were pursued, began to spread itself through the whole nation. Those of the county of Kent sent up a petition to the House, desiring them to mind the public more, and their private heats less, and to turn their addresses to the King to bills of supplies, to enable him both to protect the nation, and to defend our allies. This was brought up by some persons of quality, and was presented by them to the House: but it was looked on as a libel on their proceedings; and the gentlemen, who brought it up, were sent to prison; where they lay till the prorogation, but they were much visited, and treated as confessors. This was highly censured: it was said the Commons were the creatures of the people, and upon all other occasions they used to favour and encourage petitions: this severity was condemned therefore as unnatural, and without a precedent. It was much questioned, whether they had really an authority to imprison any except their own members, or such as had violated the privilege of their House: but the party thought it was convenient, by such an unusual severity, to discourage others from following the example set them by those of Kent; for a design was laid to get addresses, of the same nature, from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly from the city of London. The ministers represented to the King, what an indignity this would be to the House of Commons; and that, if he did not discourage it, he might look for unacceptable things from them. It might rather discourage, than give heart to our allies, if they should see such a disjointing, and both city and country in an opposition to the House of Commons.

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Some went, in his name, to the eminent men of the city to divert it; yet with all this, it came so near, for such an address, in a common council, that the Lord Mayor's vote turned it for a negative; so that fell. But a disposition to a war, and to a more hearty concurrence with the King, appeared to be the general sense of the nation, and this had a great effect on the House of Commons. They began to talk of a war as unavoidable; and when the session drew near an end, they, by an address, desired the King to enter into such alliances with the Emperor, and other states and princes, as were necessary for the support of us and our allies, and to bring down the exorbitant power of France. This was opposed with great zeal by those who were looked on as the chief conductors of the jacobite party, though many, who had, in other things, gone along with them, thought this was the only means that were left to recover their credit with the people; for the current ran so strong for a war, that those who struggled against it, were looked on as little better than public enemies. They had found good funds for a million and a half. It is true, one of these was very unacceptable to the King. It was observed, that the allotment for the civil list did far exceed the sum that was designed, which was only 600,000*l.* and that, as King James's Queen would not take her jointure, so by the Duke of Gloucester's death, the charge on it was now less than when it was granted; so they took almost 4,000*l.* a week out of the excise; and, upon an assignation made of that for some years, a great sum was raised. This was very sensible to the court, and the new ministers found it no easy thing to maintain, at the same time, their interest both with the King and their party: this matter was at last yielded to by the King. All the remainder of this session relates to the impeachments.

The Lords had resolved to begin with the trial of the Earl of Orford, because the articles against him were the first that were brought up, and since the Commons made no replication, the Lords, according to clear precedents, named a day for his trial, and gave notice of it to the House of Commons: upon this, the Commons moved the Lords to agree to name a committee of both houses for settling the preliminaries of the trial, and they named two preliminaries: one was, that the lord who was to be tried should

Messages  
passed be-  
tween the  
two houses.

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not sit as a peer; the other was, that those lords who were impeached for the same matter, might not vote in the trial of one another; they also acquainted the Lords that the course of their evidence led them to begin with the Lord Somers. The Lords judged their last demand reasonable, and agreed to it, but disagreed to the others: they considered themselves as a court of justice, and how great soever the regard due to the House of Commons might be in all other respects, yet in matters of justice, where they were the accusers, they could only be considered as parties. The King, when he had a suit with a subject, submitted to the equality of justice; so the Commons ought to pretend to no advantage over a single person in a trial: a court of justice ought to hear the demands of both parties pleaded fairly, and then to judge impartially: a committee named by one of the parties to sit in an equality with the judges, and to settle matters relating to the trial, was a thing practised in no court or nation, and seemed contrary to the principles of law or rules of justice: by these means, they could at least delay trials as long as they pleased, and all delays of justice are real and great injustices. This had never been demanded but once, in the case of the popish plot: then it was often refused: it is true, it was at last yielded to by the Lords, though with great opposition: that was a case of treason, in which the King's life and the safety of the nation was concerned: there was then a great jealousy of the court, and of the lords that belonged to it: and the nation was in so great a ferment, that the Lords might at that time yield to such a motion, though it derogated from their judicature: that ought not to be set up for a precedent for a quiet time, and in a case pretended to be no more than a misdemeanor: so the Lords resolved not to admit of this, but to hear whatsoever should be proposed by the Commons, and to give them all just and reasonable satisfaction in it. The chief point in question, in the year 1679, was, how far the bishops might sit and vote in trials of treason; but without all dispute, they were to vote in trials for misdemeanors. It was also settled in the case of the Lord Mordaunt, that a lord tried for a misdemeanor was to sit within the bar. In all other courts, men tried for such offences came within the bar: this was stronger in the case of a peer, who by his patent had a seat in that

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House, from which nothing but a judgment of the House, for some offence could remove him: they indeed, found that, in King James the First's time, the Earl of Middlesex, being accused of misdemeanors, was brought to the bar; but as this prosecution was violent, so there had been no later precedent of that kind to govern proceedings by it; there had been many since that time, and it had been settled as a rule for future times, that peers tried for such offences were to sit within the bar. The other preliminary was, that peers accused for the same offence, might not vote in the trials of the others: the Lords found that a right of voting was so inherent in every peer in all cases, except where himself was a party, that it could not be taken from him, but by a sentence of the House; a vote of the House could not deprive him of it; otherwise a majority might, upon any pretence, deny some peers their right of voting, and the Commons, by impeaching many peers at once for the same offence, might exclude as many lords as they pleased from judging: it was also observed, that a man might be a judge in any cause, in which he might be a witness; and it was a common practice to bring persons charged with the same offence, if they were not in the same indictment, to witness the facts, with which they themselves were charged in another indictment; and a parity of reason appeared in the case of lords, who were charged in different impeachments for the same facts that they might be judges in one another's trials: upon these points, many messages passed between the two houses with so much precipitation, that it was not easy to distinguish between the answers and the replies: the Commons still kept off the trial by affected delays: it was visible, that when a trial should come on, they had nothing to charge these Lords with; so the leaders of the party shewed their skill in finding out excuses to keep up the clamour, and to hinder the matters from being brought to an issue: the main point that was still insisted on, was a committee of both houses; so, according to the forms of the House, it was brought to a free conference.

In it, the Lord Haversham, speaking to the point of lords being partial in their own cases, and therefore not proper judges, said, that the House of Commons had plainly shewed their partiality in impeaching some lords for facts,

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in which others were equally concerned with them, who yet were not impeached by them, though they were still in credit and about the King; which shewed, that they thought neither the one nor the other were guilty. The Commons thought that they had now found an occasion of quarrelling with the Lords, which they were looking for; so they immediately withdrew from the conference, though they were told that the Lord Haversham spoke only his own private sense, and not by any direction from the House. The House of Commons sent up a complaint to the Lords, of this reflection on their proceedings, as an indignity done them, for which they expected reparation. Upon this, the Lord Haversham offered himself to a trial, and submitted to any censure that the Lords should think he had deserved; but insisted that the words must first be proved, and he must be allowed to put his own sense on them: the Lords sent this to the Commons, but they seemed to think that the Lords ought to have proceeded to censure him in a summary way, which the Lords thought, being a court of judicature, they could not do till the words were proved, and the importance of them discussed.

The Lords  
tried and  
acquitted.

The House of Commons had now got a pretence to justify their not going further in these trials, and they resolved to insist upon it: they said, they could expect no justice, and therefore they could not go on with the prosecutions of their impeachments: and a day being set for the Lord Somers's trial, they excepting still, it was put off for some time: at last a peremptory day was fixed for it, but the Commons refused to appear, and said they were the only judges when they were ready with their evidence, and that it was a mockery to go to a trial when they were not ready to appear at it. There were great and long debates upon this in the House of Lords; the new ministry, and all the jacobites joined to support the pretensions of the Commons, every step was to be made by a vote, against which many lords protested, and the reasons given, in some of their protestations, were thought to be so injurious to the House, that they were by a vote ordered to be expunged; a thing that seldom happens. When the day set for the trial came, the other Lords, who were also impeached, asked the leave of the House to withdraw, and not to sit and vote in it; this was granted them, though it was much op-

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posed and protested against by the tory party, because the giving such leave, supposed that they had a right to vote: the Lords went down in form to Westminster Hall, where the articles against the Lord Somers were first read, Lord Somers's answers were next read, and none appearing to make good the charge, the Lords came back to their House where they had a long and warm debate of many hours concerning the question that was to be put; the judges' told them, that according to the forms of law, it ought to be guilty, or not guilty; but those of the party said, as it was certain that none could vote him guilty, so, since the House of Commons had not come to make good the charge, they could not vote him not guilty; so to give them some content, the questions agreed on to be put, was, Whether he ought to be acquitted of the impeachment or not? That being settled, the Lords went again to the Hall, and the question being put, fifty six voted in the affirmative, and thirty one in the negative: upon this, the House of Commons passed some high votes against the lords, as having denied them justice, and having obstructed the public proceedings; and called the trial a pretended trial. The Lords went as high in their votes against the Commons, and each House ordered a narrative of the proceedings to be published for satisfying the nation. A few days after this, the Earl of Orford's trial came on, but all the Lords of the other side withdrawing, there was no dispute, so he was acquitted by an unanimous vote. The Lords did also acquit both the Earl of Portland and the Lord Hallifax; and because the Commons had never insisted on their prosecution of the Duke of Leeds, which they had begun some years before, they likewise acquitted him; and so this contentious session came to an end. The two houses had gone so far in their votes against one another, that it was believed they would never meet again: the proceedings of the Lords had the general approbation of the nation on their side: most of the bishops adhered to the impeached Lords, and their behaviour on this occasion was much commended: I bore some share in those debates, perhaps more than became me, considering my station and other circumstances; but as I was convinced of the innocence of the Lords, so I thought the government itself was struck at, and therefore, when I apprehended all was in danger, I was willing

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to venture every thing in such a quarrel : the violence, as well as the folly of the party, lost them much ground, with all indifferent men, but with none more, than with the King himself, who found his error in changing his ministry at so critical a time ; and he now saw that the tories were at heart irreconcilable to him ; in particular, he was extremely uneasy with the Earl of Rochester, of whose imperious and intractable temper he complained much, and seemed resolved to disengage himself quickly from him, and never to return to him any more. He thought the party was neither solid nor sincere, and that they were actuated by passion and revenge, without any views with relation to our quiet at home, or to our affairs abroad.

A convoca-  
tion of the  
clergy met.

But having now given an account of the session of parliament, I turn to another scene : when the new ministry undertook to serve the King, one of their demands was, that a convocation should have leave to sit, which was promised, and it sat this winter : Dr. Atterbury's book, concerning the rights of a convocation, was reprinted, with great corrections and additions : the first edition was drawn out of some imperfect and disorderly collections, and he himself soon saw, that, notwithstanding the assurance and the virulence with which it was writ, he had many great mistakes in it : so, to prevent a discovery from other hands, he corrected his book in many important matters : yet he left a great deal of matter to those who answered him, and did it with such a superiority of argument and of knowledge in these matters, that his insolence in despising these answers, was as extraordinary as the parties adhering to him after such manifest discoveries. Dr. Kennet laid him so open, not only in many particulars, but in a thread of ignorance, that ran through his whole book, that if he had not a measure of confidence peculiar to himself, he must have been much humbled under it. The clergy hoped to recover many lost privileges by the the help of his performances : they fancied they had a right to be a part of the parliament ; so they looked on him as their champion, and on most of the bishops as the betrayers of the rights of the church : this was encouraged by the new ministry : they were displeased with the bishops for adhering to the old ministry, and they hoped, by the terror of a convocation, to have forced them to apply to them for shelter.



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The jacobites intended to put us all in such a flame, as they hoped would disorder the government. The things the convocation pretended to were—first, that they had a right to sit whensoever the parliament sat; so that they could not be prorogued but when the two houses were prorogued: next they advanced, that they had no need of a license to enter upon debates, and to prepare matters, though it was confessed that the practice for a hundred years was against them: but they thought the convocation lay under no farther restraint, than that the parliament was under: and as they could pass no act without the royal assent, so they confessed that they could not enact or publish a canon without the King's license. Antiently, the clergy granted their own subsidies apart, but ever since the Reformation, the grant of the convocation was not thought good, till it was ratified in parliament: but the rule of subsidies being so high on the clergy, they had submitted to be taxed by the House of Commons ever since the year 1665, though no memorials were left to inform us how the matter was consented to so generally, that no opposition of any sort was made to it: the giving of money being yielded up, which was the chief business of convocations, they had after that nothing to do: so they sat only for form's sake, and were adjourned of course; nor did they ever pretend, notwithstanding all the danger that religion was in during the former reigns, to sit and act as a synod: but now this was demanded as a right; and they complained of their being so often prorogued, as a violation of their constitution, for which all the bishops, but more particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury, was cried out on: they said, that he and the bishops looked so much to their own interests, that they forgot the interests of the church, or rather betrayed them. The greater part of the clergy were in no good temper: they hated the toleration, and were heavily charged with the taxes, which made them very uneasy; and this disposed them to be soon inflamed by those who were seeking out all possible methods to disorder our affairs: they hoped to have engaged them against the supremacy, and reckoned, that in the feeble state to which the government was now brought, they might hope either to wrest it quite from the crown, and then it would fall into the management of the House of Commons; or, if

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the King should proceed against them according to the statute, and sue them in a *premunire*, this might unite the clergy into such an opposition to the government, as would probably throw us into great convulsions: but many aspiring men among them had no other design but to force themselves into preferment by the opposition they made. In the writ that the bishops had, summoning them to parliament, the clause, known by the first word of it, *Premunientes*, was still continued: at first, by virtue of it, the inferior clergy were required to come to parliament, and to consent to the aids there given: but after the archbishops had the provincial writ, for a convocation of the province, the other was no more executed, though it was still kept in the writ, and there did not appear the least shadow of any use that had been made of it, for some hundreds of years; yet now some bishops were prevailed on to execute this clause, and to summon the clergy by virtue of it: the convocation was opened with speeches, full of sharp reflections on the bishops, which they passed over, being unwilling to begin a dispute.

They dispute the Archbishop's power of adjourning them.

Dr. Hooper, Dean of Canterbury, was chosen prolocutor, a man of learning and good conduct hitherto: he was reserved, crafty, and ambitious: his deanery had not softened him, for he thought he deserved to be raised higher. The constant method of adjournments had been this: the Archbishop signed a schedule for that purpose, by which the upper house was immediately adjourned; and that being sent down to the prolocutor, did also adjourn the lower house. The clergy perceiving that by this means the Archbishop could adjourn them at pleasure, and either hinder or break off all debates, resolved to begin at disputing this point; and they brought a paper to the upper house, in which they asserted their right of adjourning themselves, and cited some precedents for it: to this the bishops drew a very copious answer, in which all their precedents were examined and answered, and the matter was so clearly stated, and so fully proved, that we hoped we had put an end to the dispute. The lower house sat for some time about the reply to this; but instead of going on with that, they desired a free conference, and began to affect, in all their proceedings, to follow the methods of the House of Commons: the bishops resolved not to comply

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with this, which was wholly new: they had, upon some occasions, called up the lower house to a conference, in order to the explaining some things to them; but the clergy had never taken upon them to desire a conference with the bishops before; so they resolved not to admit of it, and told them, they expected an answer to the paper they had sent them: the lower house resolved not to comply with this; but, on the contrary, to take no more notice of the Archbishop's adjournments: they did, indeed, observe the rule of adjourning themselves to the day which the Archbishop had appointed in his schedule, but they did it as their own act, and they adjourned themselves to intermediate days.

They cen-  
sure books.

That they might express a zeal in the matters of religion, they resolved to proceed against some bad books. They began with one, entitled, "Christianity not Mysterious;" wrote by one Toland, a man of a bold and petulant wit, who passed for a Socinian, but was believed to be a man of no religion. They drew some propositions out of this book; but did it with so little judgment, that they passed over the worst that were in it, and singled out some, that how ill soever they were meant, yet were capable of a good sense: they brought up the censure that they had passed on this book to the bishops, and desired them to agree to their resolutions: this struck so directly at the episcopal authority, that it seemed strange to see men, who had so long asserted the divine right of episcopacy, and that presbyters were only their assistants and council, (according to the language of all antiquity,) now assume to themselves the most important act of church government, the judging in points of doctrine: in this it appeared how soon men's interests and passions can run them from one extreme to another: the bishops saw that their design in this was only to gain some credit to themselves by this shew of zeal for the great articles of religion; so they took advice of men learned in the law, how far the act of submission in the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth did restrain them in this case. There had been the like complaint made in the convocation 1698, of many ill books then published: and the bishops had then advised both with civilians and common lawyers in this matter: they were answered, that every bishop might proceed in his own court against the authors or spreaders of ill books within his diocese; but

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they did not know of any power the convocation had to do it; it did not so much as appear that they could summon any to come before them: and when a book was published with the author's name to it, the condemning it, without hearing the author upon it, seemed contrary to the common rules of justice. It did not seem to be a court at all, and since no appeal lay from it, it certainly could not be a court in the first instance. When this question was now again put to lawyers, some were afraid, and others were unwilling to answer it: but Sir Edward Northey, afterwards made attorney-general, thought the condemning books was a thing of great consequence; since the doctrine of the church might be altered, by condemning explanations of one sort, and allowing those of another; and since the convocation had no license from the King, he thought that, meddling in that matter, they should incur the pains in the statute; so all further debate of this matter was let fall by the bishops. The lower house going on, to sit in intermediate days, many of the most eminent and learned among them, not only refused to sit with them on those days, but thought it was incumbent on them to protest against their proceedings; but the lower house refusing to suffer this to be entered into their books, they signified it in a petition to the Archbishop. The party sitting alone, in those intermediate days, they entered into such a secrecy that it could not be known what they sat so close upon: so the Archbishop appointed five bishops, together with ten they should name, as a committee to examine their books; but though this had been often done, yet, upon this occasion, the lower house refused to comply with it, or to name a committee: this was such an unprecedented invasion of the episcopal authority, that the upper house resolved to receive nothing from them till that irregularity was set right.

And complain of my  
Exposition.

Hereupon they, being highly incensed against me, censured my Exposition of the Articles, which, in imitation of the general impeachments by the House of Commons, they put in three general propositions. First, That it allowed a diversity of opinions, which the articles were framed to avoid: secondly, That it contained many passages contrary to the true meaning of the articles, and to other received doctrines of our church: thirdly, That some things in it were of dangerous consequence to the church, and de-

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rdgated from the honour of the Reformation. What the particulars to which these general heads referred were, could never be learned: this was a secret lodged in confiding hands. I begged that the Archbishop would dispense with the order made against further communication with the lower house as to this matter; but they would enter into no particulars, unless they might at the same time offer some other matters, which the bishops would not admit of.

In these proceedings the bishops were unanimous, except the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Exeter. The Bishop of London had been twice disappointed of his hopes of being advanced to the see of Canterbury; so for several years he was engaged with the tory party, and opposed the court in every thing, but with little force or authority. The Bishop of Rochester had been deeply engaged in the former reigns, and he stuck firm to the party, to which, by reason of the liberties of his life, he brought no sort of honour. These bishops gave no great reputation to the proceedings of the lower house, to which they adhered. They likewise entered their dissent to the resolutions taken in the upper house. From the fire raised thus in convocation, a great heat was spread through the whole clergy of the kingdom; it alienated them from their bishops, and raised factions among them every where.

Thus ended the session of parliament and convocation, which had the worst aspect of any that had sat during this reign. The new ministers pressed the King often to dissolve the commission that recommended to ecclesiastical preferments, and to turn out some of the whigs who were in employments, the Lord Haversham in particular, who was in the Admiralty: but the King could not be prevailed on to do any thing; yet he kept himself so much on the reserve, that when he went out of England it was not certainly known whether he intended to dissolve the parliament or not. When the King came to the Hague, he found the negotiation with France quite at an end; the King of France had recalled his minister; the states had increased their force, and the French were very strong in their neighbourhood. So that though no war was actually declared, yet it was very near breaking out.

The Emperor's army was now got into Italy: the en-

The King  
was still re-  
served.

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 Prince Eugene march-  
 ed into  
 Italy.

trance towards Verona was stopped by the French ; but Prince Eugene came in by Vincenza ; and when the reinforcements and artillery came up to him, he made a feint of passing the Po near Ferrara ; and having thus amused the French, he passed the Adige near Carpi, where a body of five thousand French lay ; these he routed, so the French retired to the Mincio : he followed them, and passed that river in their sight, without any opposition. The French army was commanded by the Duke of Savoy ; with him were the Marshal Catinat, and the Prince of Vaudemont, Governor of Milan. These differed in opinion ; the Duke of Savoy was for fighting ; Catinat and Prince Vaudemont were against it : so the Marshal Villeroy was sent thither with orders to fight. Catinat, who was the best general the French had left, looking on this as a disgrace, retired and languished for some time ; yet he recovered. There were many small engagements of parties sent out on both sides, in which the Germans had always the better ; yet this did not discourage Villeroy from venturing to attack them in their camp at Chiari ; but they were so well entrenched, and defended themselves with so much resolution, that the French were forced to draw off with great loss ; about five thousand of them were killed, whereas the loss of the Germans was inconsiderable. Sickness likewise broke in upon the French, so that their army was much diminished ; and after this, they were not in a condition to undertake any thing. Prince Eugene lay for some time in his camp at Chiari, sending out parties as far as the Adda, who, meeting oft with parties of the French, had always the advantage, killing some and taking many prisoners. For several months, Prince Eugene had no place of defence to retire to ; his camp was all ; so that a blow given him there must have ruined his whole army. Towards the end of the campaign, he possessed himself of all the Mantuan territory, except Mantua and Goits ; he blocked them both up ; and when the season obliged the French to go into quarters, he took all the places on the Oglio, and continued in motion the whole following winter. The French had no other enemy to deal with, so they poured in their whole force upon him : he was then but a young man, and had little assistance from those about him, and none at all during the summer from the princes and states of Italy : for the Pope

and the Venetians pretended to maintain a neutrality, though, upon many occasions, the Pope shewed great partiality to the French. The people indeed favoured him, so that he had good and seasonable intelligence brought him of all the motions of the French : and in his whole conduct, he shewed both a depth of contrivance, and an exactness in execution, with all the courage, but without any of the rashness of youth.

But to carry on the series of his motions, as far as this period of my history goes, his attempt, in January following, upon Cremona, had almost proved a decisive one. His attempt upon Cremona. Marshal Villeroy lay there with six or seven thousand men, and commanded a brigade on the Po ; Prince Eugene had passed that river with a part of his army ; the Princess of Mirandola drove out the French, and received a garrison from him ; the Duke of Modena put his country in his hand, and gave him Bersello, the strongest place of his dominions ; the Duke of Parma pretended he was the Pope's vassal, and so put himself under the protection of that see ; Prince Eugene would not provoke the Pope too much, so he only marched through the Parmezan ; here he laid the design of surprising Cremona with so much secrecy, that the French had not the least suspicion of it. Prince Eugene went to put himself at the head of a body that he brought from the Oglio, and ordered another to come from the Parmezan at the same time, to force the bridge. He marched with all secrecy to Cremona ; at the same time, through the ruins of an old aqueduct, he sent in some men, who got through and forced one of the gates, so that he was within the town before Marshal Villeroy had any apprehension of an enemy being near him : he wakened on the sudden with the noise, got out to the street, and there he was taken prisoner. But the other body did not come up critically, at the time appointed ; so an Irish regiment secured the bride ; and thus the design, that was so well contrived, and so happily executed in one part, did fail. Prince Eugene had but four thousand men with him, so that since the other body could not join him, he was forced to march back, which he did without any considerable loss, carrying the Marshal Villeroy and some other prisoners with him. In this attempt, though he had not an entire success, yet he gained all the glory to which the ambition

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of a military man could aspire; so that he was looked on as the greatest and happiest general of the age: he went on enlarging his quarters, securing all his posts, and straitening the blockade of Mantua, and was in perpetual motion during the whole winter. The French were struck with this ill success: more troops were sent into Italy, and the Duke of Vendome went to command the armies there.

King Philip  
at Barce-  
lona.

The Duke of Savoy was pressed to send his forces thither; but he grew cold and backward: he had now gained all that he could promise himself from France: his second daughter was married to King Philip, and was sent to him to Barcelona, and he came and met her there: Philip fell into an ill habit of body, and had some returns of a feverish distemper; he had also great disputes with the states of Catalonia, who, before they would grant him the tax that was asked of them, proposed that all their privileges should be confirmed to them. This took up some time, and occasioned many disputes: all was settled at last; but their grant was short of what was expected, and did not defray the charges of the King's stay in the place. A great disposition to revolt appeared in the kingdom of Naples, and it broke out in some feeble attempts, that were soon mastered: the leaders of these were taken and executed: they justified themselves by this apology—that till the Pope granted the investiture, they could not be bound to obey the new King: the Duke of Medina was a severe governor, both on his master's account and on his own: some of the Austrian party made their escape to Rome and to Vienna: they represented to the Emperor, that the disposition of the country was such, in his favour, that a small force of ten thousand men would certainly put that kingdom wholly into his hands. Orders were upon that sent to Prince Eugene, to send a detachment into the kingdom of Naples: but though he believed a small force would soon reduce that kingdom, yet he judged that such a diminution of his own strength, when the French were sending so many troops into the Milanese, would so expose him, that it would not be possible to maintain a defensive, with such an unequal force: yet repeated orders came to him to the same effect; but, in opposition to those, he made such representations, that at last it was left to himself to do what he found safest and



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most for the Emperor's service: with that the matter was let fall, and it soon appeared that he had judged better than the court of Vienna: but this was, by his enemies, imputed to humour and obstinacy; so that, for some time after that, he was neither considered nor supported as his great services had deserved. This might flow from envy and malice, which are the ordinary growth of all courts, chiefly of feeble ones: or it might be a practice of the French, who had corrupted most courts, and that of Vienna in particular; since nothing could more advance their ends than to alienate the Emperor from Prince Eugene; which might so far disgust him, as to make him more remiss in his service.

Our fleets lay, all this summer, idle in our seas, on a bare defensive; while the French had many squadrons in the Spanish ports, and in the West Indies. In the North the war went on still; the King of Sweden passed the Duna, and fell on an army of the Saxons, that lay on the other side, over against Riga, and routed them so entirely, that he was master of their camp and artillery. From thence he marched into Courland, where no resistance was made; Mittaw, the chief town, submitted to him. The King of Poland drew his army into Lithuania, which was much divided between the Sapichas and Oginskis: so that all those parts were breaking into much confusion. The court of Vienna pretended, they had made a great discovery of a conspiracy in Hungary: it is certain the Germans played the masters very severely in that kingdom, so that all places were full of complaints, and the Emperor was so besieged by the authors of those oppressions, and the proceedings were so summary upon very slight grounds, that it was not to be wondered if the Hungarians were disposed to shake off the yoke, when a proper opportunity should offer itself: and it is not to be doubted, but the French had agents among them, by the way of Poland as well as of Turkey, that so the Emperor might have work enough at home.

This was the state of the affairs of Europe this summer. Several negotiations were secretly carried on: the Elector of Cologne was entirely gained to the French interest, but was resolved not to declare himself till his brother thought fit likewise to do it. All the progress that the French made

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with the two brothers this summer was, that they declared for a neutrality, and against a war with France. The Dukes of Wolfembüttel and Saxe Gotha were also engaged in the same design: they made great levies of troops, beyond what they themselves could pay, for which it was visible that they were supplied from France: here was a formidable appearance of great distractions in the empire. An alliance was also projected with the King of Portugal: his ministers were in the French interest, but he himself inclined to the Austrian family: he for some time affected retirement, and avoided the giving audience to foreign ministers; he saw no good prospect from England; so being pressed to an alliance with France, his ministers got leave from him to propose one, on terms of such advantage to him, that as it was not expected they could be granted, so it was hoped, this would run into a long negotiation: but the French were as liberal in making large promises, as they were perfidious in not observing them; so the King of France agreed to all that was proposed, and signed a treaty pursuant to it, and published it to the world: yet the King of Portugal denied that he had consented to any such project, and he was so hardly brought to sign the treaty, that when it was brought to him, he threw it down, and kicked it about the room, as our envoy wrote over: in conclusion, however, he was prevailed on to sign it; but it was generally thought, that when he should see a good fleet come from the allies, he would observe this treaty with the French, as they have done their treaties with all the rest of the world. Spain grew uneasy and discontented under a French management; the grandees were little considered, and they saw great designs, for the better conduct of the revenues of the crown, likely to take place every where, which were very unacceptable to them, who minded nothing so much as to keep up a vast magnificence at the King's cost. They saw themselves much despised by their new masters, as there was indeed great cause for it: they had too much pride to bear this well, and too little courage to think how they should shake it off.

A parliament in Scotland.

But now to return to our affairs at home. The Duke of Queensberry was sent down to hold a parliament in Scotland; where people were in so bad a humour, that much practice was necessary to bring them into any temper.

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They passed many angry votes upon the business of Darien, but in conclusion the session ended well. The army was reduced one half, and the troops that were ordered to be broke, were sent to the states, who were now increasing their force. This session was chiefly managed by the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Argyle; and in reward for it, the one had the garter, and the other was made a duke.

In Ireland, the trustees went on to hear the claims of the Irish, and in many cases they gave judgment in their favour. But now it began to appear, that, whereas it had been given out, that the sale of the confiscated estates would amount to a million and a half, it was not like to rise to the third part of that sum: in the meanwhile, the trustees lived in great state there, and were masters of all the affairs of that kingdom; but no propositions were yet made for the purchasing of those estates. During the King's absence, the nation was in a great ferment, which was increased by many books that were wrote, to expose the late management in the House of Commons, and the new ministry, the Earl of Rochester in particular, who was thought the driver of all violent motions. The few books that were published on the other side, were so poorly writ, that it tempted one to think, they were writ by men who personated the being on their side, on design to expose them. The Earl of Rochester delayed his going to Ireland very long: he perceived that the King's heart was not with him, and was very uneasy at that; as on the other hand, the King complained much of his intractable temper and imperious manner, and by his intercourse with him, the King came to see that he was not the man he had taken him for; that he had no great nor clear notions of affairs abroad; and that, instead of moderating the violence of his party, he inflamed them; so that he often said, that the year in which he directed the councils, was one of the uneasiest of his whole life. The Earl of Rochester, finding the King's coldness towards him, expostulated with him upon it, and said, he could serve him no longer, since he saw he did not trust him. The King heard this, with his usual phlegm, and concluded upon it, that he should see him no more; but Harley made him a little more submissive and towardly. After the King was gone beyond sea, he also went into Ireland; there he used much art in obliging people of all sorts, dissenters as well as pa-

Affairs in  
Ireland.

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pists; yet, such confidence was put in him by the high church party, that they bore every thing at his hands: it was not easy to behave himself towards the trustees, so as not to give a general distaste to the nation, for they were much hated, and openly charged with partiality, injustice, and corruption: that which gave the greatest disgust in his administration there, was, his usage of the reduced officers, who were upon half pay, a fund being settled for that by act of parliament: they were ordered to live in Ireland, and to be ready for service there. The Earl of Rochester called them before him, and required them to express, under their hands, their readiness to go and serve in the West Indies. They did not comply with this; so he set them a day for their final answer, and threatened that they should have no more appointments if they stood out beyond that time. This was represented to the King as a great hardship put on them, and as done on design to leave Ireland destitute of the service that might be done by so many gallant officers, who were all known to be well affected to the present government; so the King ordered a stop to be put to it.

King  
James's  
death.

I am now come to the last period of the life of the unfortunate King James. He had led, for above ten years, a very inactive life in France: after he had, in so poor a manner as was told, abandoned first England and then Ireland, he had entered into two designs, for recovering the crowns, which he may be said more truly to have thrown away than lost: the one was broke by the defeat of the French fleet at sea before Cherbourg, in the year 1692; the other seemed to be laid with more depth, as well as with more infamy, when an army was brought to Dunkirk, and the design of the assassination was thought sure, upon which it was reasonably hoped that we must have fallen into such convulsions, that we should have been an easy prey to an army ready to invade us. The reproach that so black a contrivance cast upon him, brought him under so much contempt, that even the absolute authority of the French court could hardly prevail so far as to have common respect paid him after that. He himself seemed to be the least concerned at all his misfortunes; and though his Queen could never give over meddling, yet he was the most easy, when he was the least troubled with those airy schemes upon which she was still employing her thoughts. He went

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sometimes to the monastery of La Trappe, where the poor monks were much edified with his humble and pious deportment. Hunting was his chief diversion, and for the most part he led a harmless, innocent life; being still very zealous about his religion. In the opening of this year, he had been so near death, that it was generally thought the decline of it would carry him off: he went to Bourbon, but had no benefit by the waters there. In the beginning of September he fell into such fits, that it was concluded he could not live many days. The King of France came to see him, and seemed to be much touched with the sight. He, with some difficulty, recommended his Queen and son to his care and protection. The French King answered, he would reckon their concerns as his own; and when he left him, he promised those of his court, that he would, upon King James's death, own the Prince of Wales as King of England, and that he would take care of them all. King James died on the 6th day of September. He was a prince that seemed made for greater things than will be found in the course of his life, more particularly of his reign. He was esteemed, in the former parts of his life, a man of great courage, as he was quite through it a man of great application to business. He had no vivacity of thought, invention, or expression; but he had a good judgment, where his religion, or his education, gave him not a bias, which it did very often. He was bred with strange notions of the obedience due to princes, and came to take up as strange ones, of the submission due to priests. He was naturally a man of truth, fidelity, and justice; but his religion was so infused in him, and he was so managed in it by his priests, that the principles which nature had laid in had little power over him when the concerns of his church stood in the way. He was a gentle master, and was very easy to all who came near him; yet he was not so apt to pardon as one ought to be, that is the vicegerent of that God who is slow to anger, and ready to forgive. He had no personal vices but of one sort, he was still wandering from one amour to another, yet he had a real sense of sin, and was ashamed of it: but priests know how to engage princes more entirely into their interests, by making them compound for their sins by a great zeal for holy church, as they call it. In a word, if it had not been for his popery,

His character.

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he would have been, if not a great, yet a good prince. By what I once knew of him, and by what I saw him afterwards carried to, I grew more confirmed in the very bad opinion, which I was always apt to have, of the intrigues of the popish clergy, and of the confessors of kings: he was undone by them, and was their martyr, so that they ought to bear the chief load of all the errors of his inglorious reign, and of its fatal catastrophe. He had the funeral which he himself had desired, private and without any sort of ceremony. As he was dying, he said nothing concerning the legitimacy of his son, on which some made severe remarks: others thought that, having spoken so oft of it before, he might not reflect on the fitness of saying any thing concerning it in his last extremity. He recommended to him firmness in his religion, and justice in his government if ever he should come to reign. He said, that by his practice he recommended Christian forgiveness to him, for he heartily forgave both the Prince of Orange and the Emperor. It was believed, that the naming the Emperor was suggested to him by the French, to render the Emperor odious to all those of that religion.

The pretended Prince of Wales owned King by the French court,

Upon his death, it was debated in the French council what was fit to be done, with relation to his pretended son: the ministry advised the King to be passive, to let him assume what title he pleased, but that, for some time at least, the King should not declare himself. This might be some restraint upon the King of England, whereas a present declaration must precipitate a rupture; but the Dauphin interposed with some heat, for the present owning him King: he thought the King was bound in honour to do it; he was of his blood, and was driven away on the account of his religion: so orders were given to proclaim him at St. Germain. The Earl of Manchester, then the King's ambassador at Paris, told me, that his own court was going about it; but a difficulty proposed by the Earl of Middleton put a stop to it. He apprehended, that it would look very strange, and might provoke the court of France, if among his titles he should be called King of France; and it might disgust their party in England, if it was omitted: so that piece of ceremony was not performed: soon after this the King of Spain owned him, so did the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy: and the King of France pressed all other

princes to do it, in whose courts he had ministers, and prevailed on the Pope to press the Emperor and other popish princes to own him, though without effect. The King looked upon this as an open violation of the treaty of Ryswick, and he ordered the Earl of Manchester to leave that court without asking an audience. The French pretended, that the bare owning of his title, since they gave him no assistance to make good his claim, was no breach of the treaty. But this could not pass on the world, since the owning his right was a plain declaration, that they would assist him in claiming it, whensoever the state of their affairs should allow it.

This gave a universal distaste to the whole English nation; all people seemed possessed with a high indignation upon it, to see a foreign power, that was at peace with us, pretend to declare who ought to be our king: even those who were perhaps secretly well pleased with it, were yet, as it were, forced, for their own safety, to comply with the general sense of the rest in this matter. The city of London began, and all the nation followed, in a set of addresses, wherein they expressed their abhorrence of what the French King had done, in taking upon him to declare who should be their king, and renewed their vow of fidelity to the King, and to his successors, according to the act of settlement. A great diversity of style appeared in these addresses: some avoided to name the French King, the Prince of Wales, or the act of settlement, and only reflected on the transaction in France, in general and soft words: but others carried the matter farther, encouraging the King to go on in his alliances, promising him all faithful assistance in supporting them, and assuring him that, when he should think fit to call a new parliament, they would choose such members as should concur in enabling him to maintain his alliances. This raised the divisions of the nation higher: all this summer the King continued at Loo, in a very ill state of health; new methods gave some relief; but when he came to the Hague, on his way to England, he was for some days in so bad a condition, that they were in great fear of his life: he recovered, and came over in the beginning of November.

The first thing that fell under debate, upon his return, was, whether the parliament should be continued or dis-

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With which  
the English  
nation was  
inflamed.

A new par-  
liament  
called.

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solved, and a new one called. Some of the leading men of the former parliament had been secretly asked, how they thought they would proceed if they should meet again: of these, while some answered doubtfully, others said positively, they would begin where they had left off, and would insist on their impeachments. The new ministry struggled hard against a dissolution, and when they saw the King resolved on it, some of them left his service. This convinced the nation that he was not in a double game, which had been confidently given out before, and was too easily believed by many: the heats in elections increased with every new summons. This was thought so critical a conjuncture, that both sides exerted their full strength. Most of the great counties, and the chief cities, chose men that were zealous for the King and government; but the rotten part of our constitution, the small boroughs, were in many places wrought on to choose bad men: upon the whole, however, it appeared that a clear majority was in the King's interests. Yet the activity of the angry side was such, that they had a majority in choosing the speaker, and in determining controverted elections; but in matters of public concern, things went on as the King desired, and as the interest of the nation required.

The King's  
speech.

The King opened the parliament with the best speech that he, or perhaps any other prince, ever made to his people: he laid the state of our affairs, both at home and abroad, before them in a most pathetic manner; he pressed it upon them to consider the dangers they were in, and not to increase these by new divisions among themselves: he expressed a readiness to forgive all offences against himself, and wished they would as readily forgive one another, so that no other division might remain, but that of English and French; protestant and papist: he had entered into some alliances, pursuant to the addresses of the last parliament, and was negotiating some others, all which should be laid before them, and this was accordingly done. Both houses began with addresses, in which they did very fully renounce the Prince of Wales. The House of Lords ordered that all such as were willing to do it, should sign the address that was entered into their books: this was without a precedent, and yet it was promoted by those, who, as was thought, hoped, by so unusual a practice, to pre-



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vent any further proceedings on that head. No exception was made to any article of the alliances; one addition was only proposed, that no peace should be made till a full reparation was offered to the King for the indignity done him, by the French King's declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England; which was soon after proposed to the allies, and was agreed to by them all. By the alliances, the King was obliged to furnish forty thousand men to serve in the armies, besides what he was to do by sea; was consented to in every particular. Angry men shewed much rancour against the King, and tried to cross every thing that was proposed, both as to the quotas of the troops we were to furnish, and as to the strength of our fleet. But the public interest was now so visible, and the concurrent sense of the nation ran so vehemently for a war, that even those who were most averse to it, found it convenient to put on the appearance of zeal for it. The city of London was now more united than it had been at any time during this reign, for the two companies that traded to the East Indies, saw that their common interest required they should come to an agreement; and though men of ill designs did all they could to obstruct it, yet, in conclusion, it was happily effected. This made the body of the city, which was formerly much divided between the two companies, fall now into the same measures. But those who intended to defeat all this good beginning of the session, and to raise a new flame, set on debates that must have embroiled all again if they had succeeded in their designs: they began with complaints of some petitions and addresses that had reflected on the proceedings of the last House of Commons; but it was carried against them, that it was the right of the subjects to petition as they thought themselves aggrieved: yet they were not discouraged by this, but went on to complain that the Lords had denied justice in the matter of the impeachments. This bore a long and hot debate in a very full house; but it was carried, though by a small majority, that justice had not been denied them: after this, the party gave over any farther struggling, and things were carried on with more unanimity.

The House of Commons began a bill of attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales: this could not be opposed, much less stopped; yet many shewed a coldness in it, and

All were for  
a war.

The pre-  
tended  
Prince of  
Wales at-  
tainted.

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were absent on the days in which it was ordered to be read : it was sent up to the Lords, and it passed in that House, with an addition of an attainder of the Queen, who acted as Queen Regent for him. This was much opposed, for no evidence could be brought to prove that allegation; yet the thing was so notorious, that it was passed, and was sent down again to the Commons. It was excepted to there as not regular, since but one precedent in King Henry the Eighth's time was brought for it, and in that the Commons had added some names, by a clause in a bill of attainder, sent down to them by the Lords; yet as this was a single precedent, so it seemed to be a hard one: attainders by a bill were the greatest rigours of the law, so stretches in them ought to be avoided: it was therefore thought more proper to attain her by a bill apart, than by a clause in another bill: to this the Lords agreed, so the bill against the pretended Prince of Wales passed. The Lords also passed a new bill, attainting the Queen, but that was let sleep in the House of Commons.

An act for  
abjuring  
him.

The matter that occasioned the longest and warmest debates in both houses, was an act for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and for swearing to the King, by the title of rightful and lawful king, and to his heirs, according to the act of settlement: this was begun in the House of Lords, and the first design was, that it should be voluntary, it being only to be tendered to all persons, and their subscription or refusal to be recorded without any other penalty. It was vehemently opposed by all the tory party, at the head of whom the Earl of Nottingham set himself. They who argued against it, said, that this government was first settled with another oath, which was like an original contract, and it was unjust and unreasonable to offer a new one: there was no need of new oaths, as there was no new strength got by them: oaths, relating to men's opinions, had been always looked on as severe impositions: a voluntary oath seemed to be by its nature unlawful; for we cannot swear lawfully, unless we are required to do it. To all this it was answered, that in antient time, the oath of allegiance was short and simple, because then it was not thought that princes had any right, other than what was conveyed to them by law; but of late, and indeed very lately, new opinions had been started of a divine right, with

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which former times were not acquainted : so it was necessary to know, who among us adhered to these opinions : the present government was begun upon a comprehensive foot, it being hoped that all parties might have been brought to concur in supporting it ; but the effects had not answered expectation : distinctions had been made between a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto* ; whereby these men plainly declared, with whom they believed the right was lodged : this opinion must, whensoever that right comes to be claimed, oblige those who hold it to adhere to such claimers : it seemed, therefore, in some sort necessary, that the government should know on whom it might depend : the discrimination made, by such a test, was to be without compulsion or penalty ; no hardship was put on any person by it : those who refused to give this security, would see what just cause of jealousy they gave, and would thereby be obliged to behave themselves decently, and with due caution : when a government tendered an oath, though under no penalty, that was a sufficient authority for all to take it, who were satisfied with the substance of it : while, therefore, there was so great a power beyond sea that did so openly espouse this young man's pretensions, and while there was just grounds to suspect that many at home favoured him, it seemed very reasonable to offer a method, by which it should appear, who obeyed the present government from a principle, believing it lawful, and who submitted only to it as to a prosperous usurpation. About twenty lords persisted in their opposition to this bill, those who were for it being thrice that number : but, in the House of Commons, when it appeared how the Lords were inclined, they resolved to bring in a bill that should oblige all persons to take this abjuration : it was drawn by Sir Charles Hedges : all employments in church or state were to be subject to it : some things were added to the abjuration, such as an obligation to maintain the government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the church of England, together with the toleration for dissenters : Finch offered an alteration to the clause, abjuring the Prince of Wales, so that it imported only an obligation not to assist him ; but though he pressed this with unusual vehemence, in a debate that he resumed seventeen times in one session, against all rules, he had few to second him in it : the de-

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bate whether the oath should be imposed or left free, held longer; it was carried, but by one vote, to impose it: the party chose that, rather than to have it left free; for they reckoned the taking an oath that was imposed, was a part of their submission to the usurpation; but the taking any oath that strengthened the government of their own accord, did not suit with their other principles; but to help the matter with a shew of zeal, they made the clause that imposed it very extensive, so that it comprehended all clergymen, fellows of colleges, schoolmasters, and private tutors: the clause of maintaining the government in King, Lords, and Commons, was rejected with great indignation, since the government was only in the King: the Lords and Commons being indeed a part of the constitution, and of the legislative body, but not of the government. This was a barefaced republican notion, and was wont to be condemned as such, by the same persons who now pressed it. It was farther said, that if it appeared that our constitution was in danger, it might be reasonable to secure it by an act, and an oath apart; but since the single point that required this abjuration, was the French King's declaring that the pretended Prince of Wales was our king, it was not fit to join matters foreign to that in this oath: upon the same reason, the clause in favour of the church, and of the toleration were also laid aside. The design of this act was to discover to all, both at home and abroad, how unanimously the nation concurred in abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales; but here was a clause, to one part of which (the maintaining the church) the dissenters could not swear; and even the more moderate men of the church, who did well approve of the toleration, yet might think it too much to swear to maintain it; since it was reasonable to oblige the dissenters to use their liberty modestly, by keeping them under the apprehension of having it taken away, if it was abused by them. One addition was offered, and received without any debate about it, or the shadow of any opposition: it was declared to be high treason to endeavour to prevent or defeat the Princess's right of succession: the tories pretended great zeal for her, and gave it out that there was a design to set her aside, and to have the house of Hanover to succeed the King immediately, though it could never be made appear that any motion of this

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kind had ever been either made or debated, even in private discourse, by any of the whole whig party. Great endeavours were used, and not altogether without effect, to infuse this jealousy into the Princess, and into all about her, not without insinuations that the King himself was inclined to it. When this clause was offered, its being without a precedent gave handle enough to oppose it, yet there was not one word said in opposition to it, in either house, all agreeing heartily in it. This ought to have put an end to the suspicion, but surmises of that kind, when raised on design, are not soon parted with.

Soon after the session was opened, the Earl of Rochester wrote to the King, and asked leave to come over; it was soon granted; but when he signified this to the council of Ireland, the whole board joined in a request to him, that he would lay before the King the great grievances, under which the whole kingdom lay, by the proceedings of the trustees, who stretched the authority that the law gave them, in many instances, to the oppressing of the nation: he seemed uneasy at the motion, but promised to lay it before the King, which he did at his coming over. Soon after that, petitions were sent round all the counties of Ireland, and signed by many, representing both the hardships of the act, and the severe methods the trustees took in executing it. All this was believed to be set on secretly by the court, in hope that some temper might be found in that matter, so that the King's grants might again take place in whole or in part. The House of Commons was moved to proceed severely against the promoters of these petitions; yet the complaining of grievances had been so often asserted to be a right of the subject, that this was let fall. But since no person appeared to justify the facts set forth and suggested in those petitions, they were voted false and scandalous, and this stopped a further progress in that method. The heat with which that act had been carried was now much qualified, and the trustees having judged for so many claims in favour of Irish papists, shewing too manifest a partiality for them, and having now sat two years, in which they had consumed all the rents that arose out of the confiscated estates, the House was applied to for their interposition, by many petitions relating to that matter. This was the more necessary, because, as was formerly

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Ireland.

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told, when that act was depending, they had passed a vote against receiving any petition relating to it: the thing had now lost much of the credit and value that was set upon it at first; and though the same party still opposed the receiving any petitions, yet the current was now so strong the other way, that they were all received, and, in a great many cases, justice was done; yet with a manifest partiality, in favour of papists; it being a maxim, among all who favoured King James's interests, to serve papists, especially those whose estates were confiscated for adhering to him. One motion was carried, not without difficulty, in favour of those who had purchased under the grantees, and had made great improvements, that they should be admitted to purchase, with an abatement of two years value of the estates. The Earl of Athlone, whose case was singular, as was formerly set out, having sold his grant to men who had reason to think they had purchased under a secure title, a special clause was offered in their favour; but the party had studied so far to inflame the nation against the Dutch, that in this the votes were equal, and the Speaker's vote being to turn the matter, he gave it against the purchasers. Many bills were brought in relating to Irish forfeitures, which took up the greatest part of the session.

The Commons, after a long delay, sent up the bill, abjuring the Prince of Wales. In the House of Lords, the tories opposed it all they possibly could: it was a new bill, so the debate was entirely open: they first moved for a clause, excusing the peers from it: if this had been received, the bill would have been certainly lost, for the Commons would never have yielded to it. When this was rejected, they tried to have brought it back to be voluntary: it was a strange piece of inconsistency in men, to move this, who had argued even against the lawfulness of a voluntary oath: but it was visible they intended by it, only to lose, or at least to delay the bill. When this was overruled by the House, not without a mixture of indignation in some against the movers, they next offered all those clauses that had been rejected in the House of Commons, with some other very strange additions, by which they discovered both great weakness and an inveterate rancour against the government; but all the opposition ended in a protestation of nineteen or twenty peers against the bill.

And now I am arrived at the fatal period of this reign. <sup>1702.</sup>  
 The King seemed all this winter in a very fair way of recovery : he had made the royal apartments in Hampton Court very noble, and he was so much pleased with the place, that he went thither once a week, and rode often about the park. In the end of February, the horse he rode on stumbled, and he, being then very feeble, fell off, and broke his collar-bone : he seemed to have no other hurt by it, and his strength was then so much impaired, that it was not thought necessary to let him blood, no symptom appearing that required it. The bone was well set, and it was thought there was no danger ; so he was brought to Kensington that night. He himself had apprehended all this winter that he was sinking ; he said to the Earl of Portland, both before and after this accident, that he was a dead man : it was not in his legs, nor in his collar-bone, that he felt himself ill, but all was decayed within, so that he believed he should not be able to go through the fatigue of another campaign. During his illness, he sent a message to the two houses, recommending the union of both kingdoms to them. The occasion of this was a motion that the Earl of Nottingham had made, in the House of Lords, when the act of abjuration was agreed to : he said, though he had differed from the majority of the House, in many particulars relating to it, yet he was such a friend to the design of the act, that in order to the securing a protestant succession, he thought an union of the whole island was very necessary ; and that, therefore, they should consider how both kingdoms might be united : but in order to this, and previous to it, he moved, that an address should be made to the King, that he would be pleased to dissolve the parliament now sitting in Scotland, and to call a new one ; since the present parliament was at first a convention, and then turned to a parliament, and was continued ever since, so that the legality of it might be called in question ; and it was necessary that so important a thing, as the union of both kingdoms, should be treated in a parliament, against the constitution of which, no exception could lie. The motion was warmly opposed ; for that nation was then in such a ferment, that the calling a new parliament would have been probably attended with bad consequences ; so that project was let fall, and no progress was made in the

The King's  
illness and  
fall from his  
horse.

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King's message. On the 3d of March, the King had a short fit of an ague, which he regarded so little that he said nothing of it: it returned on him the next day: I happened to be then near him, and observed such a visible alteration as gave me a very ill opinion of his condition: after that, he kept his chamber till Friday: every day it was given out that his fits abated; on Friday things had so melancholy a face, that his being dangerously ill was no longer concealed: there was now such a difficulty of breathing, and his pulse was so sunk, that the alarm was given out every where. He had sent the Earl of Albemarle over to Holland, to put things in readiness for an early campaign: he came back on the 7th of March in the morning, with so good an account of every thing, that if matters of that kind could have wrought on the King, it must have revived him; but the coldness with which he received it, shewed how little hopes were left: soon after, he said, "*Je tire vers ma fin*,"—I draw towards my end. The act of abjuration, and the money bill, were now prepared for the royal assent: the council ordered all things to be in a readiness for the passing of those bills by a special commission, which, according to form, must be signed by the King, in the presence of the Lord Keeper, and the clerks of the parliament. They came to the King, when his fit began, and staid some hours before they were admitted. Some in the House of Commons moved for an adjournment, though the Lords had sent to them not to adjourn for some time: by this means, they hoped the bill of abjuration should be lost; but it was contrary to all rules to adjourn, when such a message was sent them by the Lords, so they waited till the King had signed the commission and the bills, and thus those acts passed in the last day of the King's life.

And death.

The King's strength and pulse was still sinking as the difficulty of breathing increased, so that no hope was left. The Archbishop of Canterbury and I went to him on Saturday morning, and did not stir from him till he died. The Archbishop prayed on Saturday some time with him, but he was then so weak, that he could scarce speak, but gave him his hand, as a sign that he firmly believed the truth of the Christian religion, and said, he intended to receive the sacrament. His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute. About five in the morning he desired the



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sacrament, and went through the office with great appearance of seriousness, but could not express himself: when this was done, he called for the Earl of Albemarle, and gave him a charge to take care of his papers. He thanked Mr. Auverquerque for his long and faithful services. He took leave of the Duke of Ormond, and called for the Earl of Portland, but before he came, his voice quite failed, so he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderness. He was often looking up to heaven, in many short ejaculations. Between seven and eight o'clock the rattle began; the commendatory prayer was said for him, and, as it ended, he died, in the fifty-second year of his age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days. When his body was opened, it appeared that, notwithstanding the swelling of his legs, he had no dropsy: his head and heart was sound: there was scarce any blood in his body: his lungs stuck to his side, and, by the fall from his horse, a part of them was torn from it, which occasioned an inflammation, that was believed to be the immediate cause of his death, which probably might have been prevented for some time, if he had been then let blood. His death would have been a great stroke at any time, but in our circumstances, as they stood at that time, it was a dreadful one. The Earl of Portland told me, that when he was once encouraging him, from the good state his affairs were in, both at home and abroad, to take more heart; the King answered him, that he knew death was that which he had looked at on all occasions without any terror: sometimes he would have been glad to have been delivered out of all his troubles, but he confessed now he saw another scene, and could wish to live a little longer. He died with a clear and full presence of mind, and in a wonderful tranquillity: those who knew it was his rule all his life long to hide the impressions that religion made on him as much as possible, did not wonder at his silence in his last minutes, but they lamented it much: they knew what a handle it would give to censure and obloquy.

Thus lived and died William the Third, King of Great Britain, and Prince of Orange. He had a thin and weak body, was brown haired, and of a clear and delicate constitution: he had a Roman eagle nose, bright and sparkling eyes, a large front, and a countenance composed to

His character.

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gravity and authority. All his senses were critical and exquisite : he was always asthmatical, and the dregs of the small pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant deep cough. His behaviour was solemn and serious, seldom cheerful, and but with a few. He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his character at all times, except in a day of battle ; for then he was all fire, though without passion : he was then every where, and looked to every thing. He had no great advantage from his education : De Witt's discourses were of great use to him ; and he, being apprehensive of the observation of those who were looking narrowly into every thing he said or did, had brought himself under a habitual caution that he could never shake off, though in another scene it proved as hurtful as it was then necessary to his affairs. He spoke Dutch, French, English, and German equally well ; and he understood the Latin, Spanish, and Italian ; so that he was well fitted to command armies composed of several nations. He had a memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him. He was an exact observer of men and things ; his strength lay rather in a true discerning and sound judgment, than in imagination or invention. His designs were always great and good : but it was thought he trusted too much to that, and that he did not descend enough to the humours of his people, to make himself and his notions more acceptable to them : this, in a government that has so much of freedom in it as ours, was more necessary than he was inclined to believe. His reservedness grew on him, so that it disgusted most of those who served him ; but he had observed the errors of too much talking, more than those of too cold a silence. He did not like contradiction, nor to have his actions censured ; but he loved to employ and favour those who had the arts of complacence, yet he did not love flatterers. His genius lay chiefly to war, in which his courage was more admired than his conduct. Great errors were often committed by him ; but his heroical courage set things right, as it inflamed those who were about him. He was too lavish of money on some occasions, both in his buildings and to his favourites, but too sparing in rewarding services, or in encouraging those who brought intelligence. He was apt to take ill impressions of people, and these stuck long with

him; but he never carried them to indecent revenges. He gave too much way to his own humour, almost in every thing, not excepting that which related to his own health. He knew all foreign affairs well, and understood the state of every court in Europe very particularly. He instructed his own ministers himself; but he did not apply enough to affairs at home. He tried how he could govern us, by balancing the two parties one against another; but he came at last to be persuaded, that the tories were irreconcilable to him, and he was resolved to try and trust them no more. He believed the truth of the Christian religion very firmly, and he expressed a horror at atheism and blasphemy: and though there was much of both in his court, yet it was always denied to him, and kept out of his sight. He was most exemplarily decent and devout in the public exercises of the worship of God, only on week days he came too seldom to them. He was an attentive hearer of sermons, and was constant in his private prayers, and in reading the Scriptures; and when he spoke of religious matters, which he did not often, it was with a becoming gravity. He was much possessed with the belief of absolute decrees. He said to me, he adhered to these, because he did not see how the belief of Providence could be maintained upon any other supposition. His indifference as to the forms of church government, and his being zealous for toleration, together with his cold behaviour towards the clergy, gave them generally very ill impressions of him. In his deportment towards all about him, he seemed to make little distinction between the good and the bad, and those who served well, or those who served him ill. He loved the Dutch, and was much beloved among them; but the ill returns he met from the English nation, their jealousies of him, and their perverseness towards him, had too much soured his mind, and had in a great measure alienated him from them, which he did not take care enough to conceal, though he saw the ill effects this had upon his business. He grew, in his last years, too remiss and careless as to all affairs, till the treacheries of France awakened him, and the dreadful conjunction of the monarchies gave so loud an alarm to all Europe: for a watching over that court, and a bestirring himself against their practices, was the prevailing passion of his whole life. Few men had the art of

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concealing and governing passion more than he had; yet few men had stronger passions, which were seldom felt but by inferior servants, to whom he usually made such recompenses, for any sudden or indecent vents he might give his anger, that they were glad, at every time, that it broke upon them: he was too easy to the faults of those about him, when they did not lie in his own way, or cross any of his designs; and he was so apt to think that his ministers might grow insolent if they should find that they had much credit with him, that he seemed to have made it a maxim, to let them often feel how little power they had, even in small matters. His favourites had a more entire power; but he accustomed them only to inform him of things, but to be sparing in offering advice, except when it was asked. It was not easy to account for the reasons of the favour that he shewed, in the highest instances, to two persons beyond all others, the Earls of Portland and Albemarle; they being in all respects men, not only of different, but of opposite characters. Secrecy and fidelity were the only qualities, in which it could be said, that they did in any sort agree. I have now run through the chief branches of his character. I had occasion to know him well, having observed him very carefully in a course of sixteen years. I had a large measure of his favour, and a free access to him all the while, though not at all times to the same degree. The freedom that I used with him was not always acceptable; but he saw that I served him faithfully: so that, after some intervals of coldness, he always returned to a good measure of confidence in me. I was, in many great instances, much obliged by him; but that was not my chief bias towards him. I considered him as a person raised up by God to resist the power of France, and the progress of tyranny and persecution. The series of the five princes of Orange, that was now ended in him, was the noblest succession of heroes that we find in any history; and the thirty years, from the year 1672 to his death, in which he acted so great a part, carry in them so many amazing steps of a glorious and distinguishing Providence, that in the words of David, he may be called, "the man of God's right hand, whom he made strong for himself." After all the abatements that may be allowed for his errors and faults, he ought still to be reckoned among the greatest princes

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that our history, or indeed that of any other, can afford. He died in a critical time for his own glory, since he had formed a great alliance, and had projected the whole scheme of the war: so that if it succeeds, a great part of the honour of it will be ascribed to him; and, if otherwise, it will be said, he was the soul of the alliance, that did both animate and knit it together, and that it was natural for that body to die and fall asunder, when he who gave it life was withdrawn. Upon his death some moved for a magnificent funeral; but it seemed not decent to run into unnecessary expense, when we were entering on a war, that must be maintained at a vast charge; so a private funeral was resolved on: but, for the honour of his memory, a noble monument and an equestrian statue were ordered. Some years must shew whether these things were really intended, or if they were only spoke of to excuse the privacy of his funeral, which was scarce decent, so far was it from being magnificent.

## BOOK VII.

*Of the life and reign of Queen Anne.*

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Queen Anne  
succeeds.Her first  
speech.

By the death of King William, pursuant to the act that had settled the succession of the crown, it devolved on Anne, the youngest daughter of King James, by his first marriage: she was then entered on the thirty-eighth year of her age. Upon the King's death, the privy council came in a body to wait on the new Queen: she received them with a well-considered speech: she expressed great respect to the memory of the late King, in whose steps she intended to go, for preserving both church and state, in opposition to the growing power of France, and for maintaining the succession in the protestant line. She pronounced this, as she did all her other speeches, with great weight and authority, and with a softness of voice and sweetness in the pronunciation, that added much life to all she spoke. These her first expressions were heard with great and just acknowledgments: both houses of parliament met that day, and made addresses to her full of respect and duty. She answered both very favourably, and she received all that came to her in so gracious a manner, that they went from her highly satisfied with her goodness, and her obliging deportment; for she hearkened with attention to every thing that was said to her. Two days after she went to the parliament, which, to the great happiness of the nation, and to the advantage of her government, was now continued to sit, notwithstanding the King's demise, by the act that was made five years before, upon the discovery of the assassination plot. In her speech she repeated, but more copiously, what she had said to the council, upon her first accession to the throne. There were two passages in this speech, that were thought not so well considered: she assured them, her heart was "entirely English." This was looked on as a reflection on the late King. She also added, that they "might depend on her word." Both these expressions had been in her father's first speech, how little soever they were afterwards minded by him. The city of London, and all the counties, cities, and even the subaltern

bodies of cities, came up with addresses : in these a very great diversity of style was observed : some mentioned the late King in terms full of respect and gratitude ; others named him very coldly : some took no notice of him, nor of his death, and simply congratulated her coming to the crown ; and some insinuated reflections on his memory, as if the Queen had been ill used by him. The Queen received all civilly—to most she said nothing, to others she expressed herself in general words, and some things were given out in her name which she disowned.

Within a week after her coming to the crown, she sent the Earl of Marlborough to Holland; to give the states full assurances of her maintaining the alliances that had been concluded by the late King, and of doing every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. She gave notice also of her coming to the crown to all the princes and states of Europe, except France and Spain. The Earl of Marlborough staid some days in Holland to very good purpose : the King's death had struck them all with such a damp, that they needed the encouragement of such a message as he brought them : when they had first news of the King's death, they assembled together immediately ; they looked on one another as men amazed : they embraced one another, and promised they would stick together, and adhere to the interests of their country : they sat up most of the night, and sent out all the orders that were necessary upon so extraordinary an emergency. They were now much revived by the Earl of Marlborough's presence, and the temper that both houses of parliament were in with relation to the alliances and the war with France ; and they entered into such confidence with the Earl of Marlborough, that he came back as well satisfied with them as they were with him. The Queen, in her first speech, had asked of the Commons the continuance of that revenue which supported the civil list, and it was granted to her for life, very unanimously, though many seemed to apprehend that so great a revenue might be applied to uses not so profitable to the public, in a reign that was like to be frugal, and probably would not be subject to great accidents. When the Queen came to pass the act, and to thank the parliament for it, she said, she intended to apply 100,000*l.* of it to the public occasions of the present year : this was received

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She pursues  
the alliance  
and the war.

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A bill for  
the public  
accounts.

with great applause, and particular notice was taken of it in all the addresses that came up afterwards.

At the same time, the Queen passed a bill for receiving and examining the public accounts; and in her speech she expressed a particular approbation of that bill. A commission to the same effect had been kept up for six or seven years during the former reign, but it had been let fall for some years; since the commission had never been able to make any discovery whatsoever, and so had put the public to a considerable charge, without reaping any sort of fruit from it. Whether this flowed from the weakness or corruption of the commissioners, or from the integrity or cunning of those who dealt in the public money, cannot be determined. The party that had opposed the late King, had made this the chief subject of their complaints all the nation over—that the public was robbed, and that private men lived high, and yet raised large estates out of the public treasure. This had a great effect over England; for all people naturally hearken to complaints of this kind, and very easily believe them: it was also said, to excuse the fruitlessness of the former commissions, that no discoveries could be made under a ministry that would surely favour their under-workmen, though they were known to be guilty. One visible cause of men's raising great estates, who were concerned in the administration, was this—that for some years the parliament laid the taxes upon very remote funds; so that, besides the distance of the term of payment, for which interest was allowed, the danger the government itself seemed to be often in (upon the continuance of which the continuance and assignment of these funds was grounded) made that some tallies were sold at a great discount, even of the one half, to those who would employ their money that way, by which great advantages were made. The gain that was made by robbing the coin, in which many goldsmiths were believed to be deeply concerned, contributed not a little to the raising those vast estates, to which some had grown, as suddenly as unaccountably. All these complaints were easily raised, and long kept up, on design to cast the heavier load on the former ministry: this made that ministry, who were sensible of the mischief this clamour did them, and of their own innocence, promote the bill with much zeal, and put the



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strongest clauses in it that could be contrived to make it effectual. The commissioners named in the bill were the hottest men in the House, who had raised, as well as kept up, the clamour with the greatest earnestness. One clause put in the act was not very acceptable to the commissioners, for they were rendered incapable of all employments during the commission: the act carried a retrospect quite back to the Revolution: it was given out that great discoveries would be made by them, and the art and industry with which this was spread over England, had a great effect in the elections to the succeeding parliament. The coronation was on the 23d of April, on St. George's day, it was performed with the usual magnificence: the Archbishop of York preached a good and wise sermon on the occasion: the Queen immediately after that gave orders for naming the Electoress of Brunswick, in the collect for the royal family, as the next heir of the crown, and she formed a ministry.

The coldness had continued between the King and her to such a degree, that though there was a reconciliation after the Queen's death, yet it went not much farther than what civility and decency required: she was not made acquainted with public affairs: she was not encouraged to recommend any to posts of trust and advantage; nor had the ministry orders to inform her how matters went, nor to oblige those about her; only pains had been taken to please the Earl of Marlborough, with which he was fully satisfied: nothing had contented him better than the command he had the former year of the troops, which were sent to the assistance of the states. The whigs had lived at a great distance with the Queen all the former reign: the tories had made much noise with their zeal for her, chiefly after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, though they came seldom to her: her court was then very thin; she lived in a due abstraction from business, so that she neither gave jealousy nor encouraged faction: yet these things had made those impressions on her, that had at first ill effects, which were soon observed and remedied. The late King had sent a message to the Earl of Rochester, some weeks before he died, letting him know that he had put an end to his commission of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but that was not executed in form, so the commission did still subsist in his person:

The ministry formed.

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he was upon that now declared lord lieutenant of Ireland. The Lord Godolphin was made lord treasurer: this was very uneasy to himself, for he resisted the motion long; but the Earl of Marlborough pressed it in so positive a manner, that he said he could not go beyond sea to command our armies, unless the Treasury was put in his hands; for then he was sure that remittances would be punctually made him: he was declared captain general, and the Prince had the title of generalissimo of all the Queen's forces, by sea and land. It was for some time given out, that the Prince intended to go beyond sea, to command the armies of the alliance; but this report soon fell, and it was said, the Dutch were not willing to trust their armies to the command of a prince, who might think it below him to be limited by their instructions, or to be bound to obey their orders. The late King had dissolved the commission for executing the office of the lord admiral, and had committed that great trust to the Earl of Pembroke: the secrets of that board were so ill kept, and there was such a faction in it, that the King resolved to put it in a single person: the Earl of Pembroke was not easily brought to submit to it: he saw it would draw a heavy load on him, and he was sensible that, by his ignorance of sea affairs, he might commit errors; yet he took good officers to his assistance: he resolved to command the fleet in person, and he took great pains to put things in such order, that it might be soon ready. A land army was designed to go with the fleet, to the command of which, the Duke of Ormond had been named; but, upon new measures, the Earl of Pembroke was first sent to, not to go to sea in person, and soon after he was dismissed from his post, with the offer of a great pension, which he very generously refused, though the state of his affairs and family seemed to require it. The Prince was made lord high admiral, which he was to govern by a council: the legality of this was much questioned, for it was a new court which could not be authorized to act, but by an act of parliament: yet the respect paid the Queen made that no public question was made of this, so that objections to it never went beyond a secret murmur. The Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were made secretaries of state: the tories would trust none but the Earl of Nottingham, and he would serve with none but Hedges: the maxim

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laid down at court, was, to put the direction of affairs in the hands of the tories. The Earl of Marlborough assured me this was done upon the promises they made to carry on the war, and to maintain the alliances : if they kept these, then affairs would go on smoothly in the House of Commons ; but, if they failed in this, the Queen would put her business in other hands, which at that time few could believe. The Marquis of Normanby was, to the admiration of all men, made lord privy seal, and soon after Duke of Buckingham : the Earl of Abington, Viscount Weymouth, Lord Dartmouth, Seymour, Musgrave, Grenville, Howe, Lucan Gower, Harcourt, with several others who had, during the last reign, expressed the most violent and unrelenting aversion to the whole administration, were now brought to the council board, and put in good posts.

Before the King's death, it was generally thought, that some in both houses, and many more over the nation, would refuse the abjuration : they had opposed it so vehemently, that no less could be expected from them : some went out of town when the day came, in which the houses resolved to try all their members, but they soon came to other resolutions, and with them almost the whole party came and took the oath, and professed great zeal for the Queen, and an entire satisfaction in her title. Some suspected this was treachery on design to get the government once into their hands, that so they might deliver it up, or at least that they might carry a parliament so to their mind, that the act might be repealed, and they might think that then the oath would fall with it. Distinctions were set about among them, which heightened these suspicions ; for though in the oath, they declared that the pretended Prince of Wales had not any right whatsoever to the crown, yet in a paper (which I saw) that went about among them, it was said that "right" was a term of law, which had only relation to "legal rights," but not to a "divine right," or to "birth right:" so since that right was condemned by law, they, by abjuring it, did not renounce the "divine right" that he had by his birth. They also supposed, that this abjuration could only bind during the present state of things, but not in case of another revolution, or of a conquest; this was too dark a thing to be inquired after, or seen into in the state matters were then in. The Queen continued

Few refused the abjuration.

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most of the great officers of the household, all the judges except two, and most of the lords lieutenants of counties; nor did she make any change in the foreign ministry. It was generally believed, that the Earl of Rochester and his party were for severe methods, and for a more entire change to be carried quite through all subaltern employments, but that the Lord Godolphin and the Earl of Marlborough were for moderate proceedings; so that though no whigs were put into employments, yet many were kept in the posts they had been put into during the former reign. Repeated assurances were sent to all the allies, that the Queen would adhere firmly to them.

The union  
of both  
kingdoms  
proposed.

The Queen in her first speech to her parliament had renewed the motion made by the late King, for the union of both kingdoms: many of those, who seemed now to have the greatest share of her favour and confidence, opposed it with much heat, and not without indecent reflections on the Scotch nation; yet it was carried by a great majority, that the Queen should be empowered to name commissioners for treating of an union: it was so visibly the interest of England, and of the present government, to shut that back door against the practices of France, and the attempts of the pretended Prince of Wales, that the opposition made to this first step towards an union, and the indecent scorn with which Seymour and others treated the Scots, were clear indications that the posts they were brought into had not changed their tempers; but that instead of healing matters, they intended to irritate them farther by their reproachful speeches. The bill went through both houses, notwithstanding the rough treatment it met with at first.

The war  
with France  
proclaimed.

Upon the Earl of Marlborough's return from Holland, and in pursuance of the concert at the Hague, the Queen communicated to both houses her design to proclaim war with France: they approving of it, war was proclaimed on the 4th day of May: the House of Commons made an address to thank the Queen for ordering the Princess Sophia to be prayed for; and as the right, that recommended her, was in her own blood, she was designed by her christian name, and not by her title: it came to be known that this was opposed in council by the Marquis of Normanby, but that it was promoted by the Lord Treasurer.

A report was spread about town, and over the nation,

with such a seeming assurance, that many were inclined to believe it, that a scheme had been found among the King's papers for setting aside the Queen; some added, for imprisoning her, and for bringing the house of Hanover immediately into the succession; and that, to support this, a great change was to be made in all the employments and offices over the whole kingdom: this many of those who were now in posts had talked of in so public a manner, that it appeared they intended to possess the whole nation with a belief of it; hoping thereby to alienate the people from those who had been in the late King's confidence, and disgrace all that side, in order to the carrying all elections of parliament for men of their party. Five lords had been ordered by the Queen to visit the late King's papers, and bring her such of them as related to the alliances or other affairs of the crown: these were the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, and the Earls of Marlborough, Jersey, and Albemarle: the whigs saw the design which was driven at by those false reports; so a motion was made in the House of Lords, by the Earl of Carlisle, and seconded by the Lords Wharton, Hallifax, and others, that an inquiry should be made into the truth of that report, and of all other stories of that kind; that so, if there was any truth in them, such as had been concerned in those wicked designs, might be punished; and if they were found to be false, that those who spread them about might be chastised. Upon this, the House desired that those lords, who had visited the late King's papers, would let them know if they had met with any among them relating to the Queen's succession, or to the succession of the house of Hanover. Four of them were then in the House, only the Earl of Marlborough was ill that day; so the four who were present said, they had found nothing that did in any sort relate to that matter, and this was confirmed by the Earl of Marlborough to some peers, who were sent by the House to ask him the same question. Upon which a vote passed that these reports were false and scandalous; and an order was made for prosecuting the spreaders of them. Some books had been published charging the late ministry, and the whole whig party, with the like designs. These books were censured, and the authors of them were ordered to be prosecuted; though both the Marquis of Normanby and the Earl

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A false report of designs against the Queen.

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The parliament is dissolved.

A convocation sat.

of Nottingham did all they could to excuse those writers. When the falsehood of those calumnies was apparent, then it was given out, with an unusual confidence, that no such reports had been ever set about, though the contrary was evident, and the thing was boldly asserted in those books : so that a peculiar measure of assurance was necessary to face down a thing, which they had taken such pains to infuse into the minds of the credulous vulgar all England over. The Earl of Nottingham, to divert this inquiry, moved, that another might be made into those books in which the murder of King Charles the First was justified ; though the provocation given to some of these, was, by a sermon preached by Dr. Binks before the convocation, on the 30th of January, in which he drew a parallel between King Charles's sufferings and those of our Saviour ; and, in some very indecent expressions, gave the preference to the former. When the business of the session of parliament was all done, the Queen dismissed them, with thanks for the money they had given, recommending earnestly to them a good agreement among themselves, assuring them, that, as on the one hand, she would maintain the toleration, so, on the other hand, her own principles would oblige her to have a particular regard to those who expressed the truest zeal for the church of England ; thus the session ended, and the proclamation dissolving the parliament, with the writs for a new one, came out not long after.

During some part of this parliament a convocation sat : the faction raised in the lower house had still the majority ; several books were writ to shew, that by our constitution, the power of adjourning was wholly in the Archbishop. The original book of the convocation, that sat in the year 1661, being happily found, it shewed the practice of that convocation agreed with the bishops in every particular : but though it was communicated to the lower house, that had no effect on them ; for when the parties are once formed, and a resolution is taken up on other considerations, no evidence can convince those who have beforehand resolved to stick to their point. But the prolocutor dying, and the King's death following, the convocation was by that dissolved : since, in the act that empowered the parliament to sit after the King's death, no provision was made to continue the convocation. The Earl of Rochester moved,

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in the House of Lords, that it might be considered whether the convocation was not a part of the parliament, and whether it was not continued in consequence of the act that continued the parliament: but that was soon let fall, for the judges were all of opinion that it was dissolved by the King's death.

Upon the Queen's accession to the crown, all these angry men that had raised this flame in the church, as they treated the memory of the late King with much indecent contempt, so they seemed very confident, that, for the future, all preferments should be distributed among them, (the Queen having superseded the commission for ecclesiastical preferments,) and they thought they were full of merit, and were as full of hopes.

Such an evil spirit as is now spread among the clergy would be a sad speculation at any time; but, in our present circumstances, when we are near so great a crisis, it is a dreadful thing: but, a little to balance this, I shall give an account of more promising beginnings and appearances, which, though they are of an elder date, yet of late they have been brought into a more regulated form. In King James's reign, the fear of popery was so strong, as well as just, that many, in and about London, began to meet often together, both for devotion and for their further instruction: things of that kind had been formerly practised only among the puritans and the dissenters: but these were of the church, and came to their ministers, to be assisted with forms of prayer and other directions: they were chiefly conducted by Dr. Beveridge and Dr. Horneck. Some disliked this, and were afraid it might be the original of new factions and parties; but wiser and better men thought it was not fit nor decent to check a spirit of devotion at such a time: it might have given scandal, and it seemed a discouraging of piety, and might be a mean to drive well-meaning persons over to the dissenters. After the Revolution, these societies grew more numerous, and, for a greater encouragement to devotion, they got such collections to be made, as maintained many clergymen to read prayers in so many places, and at so many different hours, that devout persons might have that comfort at every hour of the day: there were constant sacraments every Lord's day in many churches: there were both great numbers and

Societies for  
reformation.

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greater appearances of devotion at prayers and sacraments, than had been observed in the memory of man. These societies resolved to inform the magistrates of swearers, drunkards, profaners of the Lord's day, and of lewd houses; and they threw in the part of the fine, given by law to informers, into a stock of charity: from this they were called societies of reformation. Some good magistrates encouraged them, but others treated them roughly. As soon as Queen Mary heard of this, she did, by her letters and proclamations, encourage these good designs, which were afterwards prosecuted by the late King. Other societies set themselves to raise charity schools for teaching poor children, for clothing them and binding them out to trades. Many books were printed and sent over the nation by them to be freely distributed: these were called societies for propagating Christian knowledge. By this means some thousands of children are now well educated and carefully looked after. In many places of the nation, the clergy met often together to confer about matters of religion and learning; and they got libraries to be raised for their common use. At last a corporation was created by the late King for propagating the gospel among infidels, for settling schools in our plantations, for furnishing the clergy that were sent thither, and for sending missionaries among such of our plantations as were not able to provide pastors for themselves. It was a glorious conclusion of a reign, that was begun with preserving our religion, thus to create a corporation for propagating it to the remoter parts of the earth, and among infidels: there were very liberal subscriptions made to it by many of the bishops and clergy, who set about it with great care and zeal: upon the Queen's accession to the crown, they had all possible assurances of her favour and protection, of which upon every application they received very eminent marks.

Affairs in  
Scotland.

The affairs of Scotland began to be somewhat embroiled: by an act made soon after the Revolution, it was provided, that all princes succeeding to the crown should take the coronation oath, before they entered upon their regal dignity; but no direction was given concerning those who should tender it, or the manner in which it should be taken: so this being left undetermined, the Queen called together all the late King's ministers for that kingdom, and in the pre-



sence of about twelve of them, she took the coronation oath. Men, who were disposed to censure every thing, said, that this ought not to be done, but in the presence of some, deputed for that effect, either by the parliament, or at least by the privy council of that kingdom. Another point occasioned a more important debate.

Upon the assassination plot, an act had passed in Scotland for continuing the parliament, that should be then in being, six months after the death of the King, with two special clauses in it: the first was, that it should meet twenty days after the death of the King: but the Queen did, by several prorogations, continue the parliament almost three months after the King's death, before it was opened. Some said, the parliament was by this dissolved, since it did not meet upon the day limited by the act to continue it; but there was another proviso in the act, that saved to the crown the full prerogative of adjourning or dissolving it within that time; yet in opposition to that, it was acknowledged, that as to all subsequent days of meeting, the prerogative was entire, but the day that was limited, that is the twenty-first after the King's death, seemed to be fixed for the first opening the session.

The second clause was, a limitation on the power of the parliaments, during their sitting, that it should not extend to the repealing laws; they were empowered only to maintain the protestant religion, and the public peace of the country: it was therefore said, that the Queen was peaceably obeyed, and the country now in full quiet, so there was no need of assembling the parliament. The end of the law being compassed, it was said, the law fell of itself, and therefore it was necessary to call a new parliament: for the old one, if assembled, could have no authority, but to see to the preservation of religion, and the peace of the country, their power being limited to those two heads, by the act that authorized their sitting. In opposition to this it was said, that the act which gave them authority to sit as a parliament for six months, gave them the full authority of a parliament: the directing them to take care of some more important matters, did not hinder their meddling in other matters, since no parliament can limit a subsequent one. It was also said, that, since the Queen was now engaged in a war, the public peace could not be secured, without such

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a force, and taxes to maintain it, as the present state of affairs required. The Duke of Queensberry, and his party, were for continuing the parliament: but Duke Hamilton, and the others, who had opposed that Duke in the last parliament, complained highly of this way of proceeding: they said, they could not acknowledge this to be a legal parliament; they could not submit to it, but must protest against it: this was ominous: a reign was to be begun with a parliament liable to a dispute; and, from such a breach, it was easy to foresee a train of mischief likely to follow. These lords came up, and represented to the Queen, and those in favour with her, their exceptions to all that was intended to be done; every thing they said was heard very calmly; but the Queen was a stranger to their laws, and could not take it upon her to judge of them; so she was determined by the advice of the privy council of that kingdom. The lords that came up to oppose the Duke of Queensberry continued to press for a new parliament, in which they promised to give the Queen all that she could ask of them, and to consent to an act of indemnity for all that was passed in the former reign: but it was thought, that the nation was then in too great a heat to venture on that; and that some more time was necessary, to prepare matters, as well as men's minds, before a new parliament should be summoned. Both parties went down, and both, being very sensible that the presbyterian interest would, with its weight, turn that scale into which it should fall, great pains were taken by both sides to gain that party. On the one hand, they were made to apprehend, what a madness it would be for them to provoke the Queen in the beginning of her reign, who might be enough disposed to entertain prejudices against them: these would be much heightened, if in a point in which conscience could not be pretended, they should engage in a faction against her, especially when they could not say, that any cause of jealousy was given: on the contrary, the Queen had, in all her public letters, promised to maintain presbyterian government; and though that gave great offence in the late King's time, when those public letters were printed, yet now this passed without censure. The other party was as busy to inflame them; they told them the Queen was certainly in her heart against them: all those who were now in her confi-

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dence, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham in particular, were enemies to presbyterian government. Good words were now given them, to separate them from a national interest, knowing well, that if they went off from that, and so lost the hearts of the nation, they lost that in which their chief strength lay. The party that now governed, as soon as they should have carried the present point by their help, and rendered them odious by their concurring in it, would strengthen themselves at court, by entering into the episcopal interest, and trying to introduce episcopacy into Scotland; which would be soon brought about, if the presbyterians should once lose their popularity. These were the methods and reasonings that were used on both hands.

The parliament was brought together on the 9th of June: A session of parliament there. at the opening the session, Duke Hamilton read a paper, importing, that this was not a legal parliament, since the only ends for which they were empowered to meet were already obtained: the Queen was obeyed, religion was secured, and the peace of the country was settled: so there seemed to be no occasion for their continuance: upon which he and seventy-four more withdrew; but one hundred and twelve members continued to sit, and voted themselves to be a free and legal parliament; and declared, that, pursuant to their antient laws, it was high treason to impugn their authority. They ratified all acts made in favour of presbyterian government, in which they proceeded with such violence, that Sir Alexander Bruce, moving that all those acts might be read, for he believed some of them might be found inconsistent with monarchy, he was for that expelled the House. They, by one act, recognised the Queen's title; by another, they empowered her to name commissioners to treat of the union of the two kingdoms; and by a third, they gave a tax sufficient to keep up the force that was then in Scotland, for two years longer: and so the parliament was brought to a quiet conclusion.

Ireland was put under lords justices, named by the Earl of Rochester, and the trustees continued still in their former authority.

While our affairs were in this posture at home, the first Affairs in Germany. step that was made beyond sea, was by the house of Hannover: it had been concerted with the late King, before his sickness, and was set on foot the week he died. The de-

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sign was well laid, and the execution was managed with great secrecy. The old Duke of Zell, and his nephew, the Elector of Brunswick, went in person with an army, that was rather inferior in strength to that of the Dukes of Wolfembuttel. They entered their country, while their troops were dispersed in their quarters: they surprised some regiments of horse, and came and invested both Wolfembuttel and Brunswick at once, and cut off all communication between them. Having them at this disadvantage, they required them to concur in the common councils of the empire, to furnish their quota for its defence, and to keep up no more troops than were consistent with the safety of their neighbours; for it was well known, that the greatest part of their men were subsisted with French pay, and that they had engaged themselves to declare for France as soon as it should be required. Duke Rodolph, the elder brother, was a learned and pious prince; but as he was never married, so he had turned over the government to the care of his brother, Duke Anthony, who was a prince of a temper very much different from his brother's. He could not bear the advancement of the house of Hanover; so in opposition to them, he went into the interests of France: but being thus surprised, he went away in discontent, and his brother broke through all those measures in which he had involved himself. In conjunction with Duke Anthony, the Duke of Saxe Gotha had entered into the same engagements with France; but was now forced to fall into the common interests of the empire.

The war in  
Poland.

Thus all the north of Germany was united, and ready to declare against France; only the war in Poland was so near them, that they were obliged to continue armed, and see the issue of that war. The King of Sweden was engaged in it, with such a determined opposition to King Augustus, that there was no hope of treating a peace, though it was endeavoured both by England and the states. The King of Sweden seemed to have accustomed himself to fatigue and danger, so that he grew to love both; and though the Muscovites had fallen upon the frontiers of Sweden, where they had gained some advantages, yet even that could not divert him from carrying on the war in Poland: a diet was summoned there, but it broke up in confusion, without coming to any conclusion, only they

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sent ambassadors to the King of Sweden to treat of a peace. The King of Prussia was very apprehensive of the consequences of this war, which was now in the neighbourhood of Prussia; and the King of Sweden threatened to invade Saxony with the troops that he had in Pomerania, which could not be done but through his territories. The King of Sweden delayed giving audience to the ambassadors of Poland, and marched on to Warsaw; so the King of Poland retired to Cracow, and summoned those palatines who adhered to him, to come about him. When the King of Sweden came to Warsaw, he sent to the Cardinal to summon a diet for choosing a new king: this went further than the resentments of the Poles yet carried them. But the rest of this matter will appear hereafter.

All Germany was now united, only the two brothers of Bavaria: the court of Vienna set on foot several negotiations with the Elector of Bavaria, but all to no purpose; for that Elector seemed only to hearken to their propositions, that he might make the better terms with France. The Elector of Cologne put Liege, and all the places that he had on the Rhine, except Bonne, into the hands of the French. It was said, that he kept Bonne, hoping to be able to make his peace with the Emperor by putting that into his possession; but he was prevailed on afterwards to deliver that likewise to the French. In this the Elector acted against the advice of all his council; and as the Dean of Liege was making some opposition to him, he was seized on, and carried away prisoner in a barbarous manner. The Elector, to excuse his letting the French into his country, pretended he only desired the assistance of some of the troops of the circle of Burgundy, to secure his dominions: for, as France was not ashamed of the slightest pretences, so she taught her allies to make excuses unbecoming the dignity of princes.

The first step of this war was to be made in the name of the Elector Palatine, in the siege of Keiserwert, which, whilst in the enemies' hands, exposed both the circle of Westphalia, and the states' dominions: for their places on the wall, being in no good condition, were laid open to the excursions of that garrison. Negotiations were still carried on in several courts: Methuen was sent to try the court of Portugal: he came quickly back, with full as-

A treaty  
with the  
house of  
Bavaria.

The siege of  
Keiserwert.

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surances of a neutrality, and a freedom of trade in their ports : insinuations were given of a disposition to go further, upon a better prospect and better terms ; so he was presently sent back to drive that matter as far as it would go. The Pope pretended he would keep the neutrality of a common father ; but his partiality to the French appeared on many occasions : yet the court of Vienna had that veneration for the see, that they contented themselves with expostulating, without carrying their resentments further. The Venetians and the Great Duke followed the example set them by the Pope, though the former did not escape so well, for their country suffered on both hands.

The siege of  
Landaw.

The Prince of Baden drew together the troops of the empire : he began with blocking up Landaw, and that was soon turned to a siege : Catinat was sent to command the French army in Alsace, but it was so weak, that he was not able to make head with it. In the end of April, the Dutch formed three armies ; one under the Prince of Nassau, undertook the siege of Keiserwert ; another was commanded by the Earl of Athlone, and lay in the Dutchy of Cleve, to cover the siege ; a third, commanded by Cohorn, broke into Flanders, and put a great part of that country under contribution. Marshal Boufflers drew his army together, and having laid up great magazines in Ruremonde and Venlo, he passed the Maese with his whole army. The Duke of Burgundy came down post from Paris, to command it. The states apprehended, that so great a prince would, at his first appearance, undertake somewhat worthy of him, and thought the design might be upon Maestricht : so they put twelve thousand men in garrison there. The auxiliary troops from Germany did not come so soon as was expected, and cross winds stopped a great part of our army ; so that the Earl of Athlone was not strong enough to enter into action with Marshal Boufflers ; but he lay about Cleve, watching his motions. The siege of Keiserwert went on slowly : the Rhine swelling very high, so filled their trenches, that they could not work in them. Marshal Tallard was sent to lie on the other side of the Rhine, to cannonade the besiegers, and to send fresh men into the town. The King of Prussia came to Wezel, from whence he furnished the besiegers with all that was necessary. There was one vigorous attack made, in which many were

killed on both sides: in conclusion, after a brave defence, the counterscarp was carried, and then the town capitulated, and was raised according to agreement. When the Duke of Burgundy saw, that the siege could not be raised, he tried to get between the Earl of Athlone and Nimeguen: the design was well laid, and wanted little of being punctually executed. It must have had fatal effects had it succeeded; for the French would either have got into Nimeguen, or have forced the Earl of Athlone to fight at a great disadvantage: but the Earl of Athlone so carefully watched their motions, that he got before them under the cannon of Nimeguen; yet, by this means, he was forced to abandon Cleve. The French discharged their fury upon that town, and on the park, and all the delicious walks of that charming place, little to the honour of the Prince who commanded the army: for upon such occasions, princes are apt to be civil to one another, and not to make havoe of such embellishments as can be of no use to them. The Earl of Athlone's conduct on this occasion raised his credit, as much as it sunk Boufflers, who, though he had the superior army, animated by the presence of so great a prince, yet was able to do nothing, but was unsuccessful in every thing that he designed; and his parties, that at any time were engaged with those of the Earl of Athlone, were beaten almost in every action.

Soon after this, the Earl of Marlborough came over, and took the command of the army. The Earl of Athlone was set on by the other Dutch generals to insist on his quality of velt marshal, and to demand the command by turns: he was now in high reputation by his late conduct, but the states obliged him to yield this to the Earl of Marlborough, who indeed used him so well, that the command seemed to be equal between them. The Earl of Athlone was always inclined to cautious and sure, but feeble counsels; but the Earl of Marlborough, when the army was brought together, finding his force superior to the Duke of Burgundy, passed the Maese at the Grave, and marched up to the French; they retired as he advanced: this made him for venturing on a decisive action, but the Dutch apprehended the putting things to such a hazard, and would not consent to it. The pensioner, and those who ordered matters at the Hague, proceeded the more timorously, because, upon the King's

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 Keiserwert  
taken.

 The Earl of  
Marlbo-  
rough com-  
mands the  
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death, those who had always opposed him, were beginning to form parties in several of their towns, and were designing a change of government; so that a public misfortune in their conduct would have given great advantages to those who were watching for them. The pensioner was particularly aimed at: this made him more unwilling to run any risk. Good judges thought, that if the Earl of Marlborough's advices had been followed, matters might have been brought to a happy decision; but as he conducted the army prudently, so he was careful not to take too much upon him. The Duke of Burgundy finding himself obliged to retreat, as the confederate army advanced, thought this was not suitable to his dignity: so he left the army, and ended his first campaign very ingloriously; and it seems the King was not satisfied with Marshal Boufflers, for he never commanded their armies since that time. The Earl of Marlborough went on, taking several places, which made little or no resistance; and seeing that Marshal Boufflers kept at a safe distance, so that there was no hope of an engagement with him, he resolved to fall into the Spanish Guelder: he began with Venlo. There was a fort on the other side of the river that commanded it, which was taken by the Lord Cutts in so gallant a manner, that it deserved to be much commended by every body but himself; but he lost the honour that was due to many brave actions of his by talking too much of them. The young Earl of Huntington shewed upon this, as upon many other occasions, an extraordinary heat of courage: he called to the soldiers, who had got over the palisadoes to help him over, and promised them all the money he had about him, which he performed very generously, and led them on with much bravery and success: upon the fort's being taken, the town capitulated. Ruremonde and Stevenzwert were taken in a few days after; for Marshal Boufflers did not come to their relief. Upon these successes, that came quicker than was expected, the Earl of Marlborough advanced to Liege, which was a place of more importance, in which he might put a great part of his army in winter quarters: the town quickly capitulated; the citadel was carried by storm, and another fort in the town likewise surrendered. Here was a very prosperous campaign: many places were taken with little resistance, and an inconsiderable loss, either of time



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or of men. The Earl of Marlborough's conduct and deportment gained him the hearts of the army: the states were highly satisfied with every thing he did, and the Earl of Athlone did him the justice to own, that he had differed in opinion from him in every thing that was done, and that therefore the honour of their success was wholly owing to him.

The campaign was kept open till November, and at the end of it, an accident happened, that had almost lost the advantages and honour got in it. The Earl of Marlborough thought the easiest and quickest, as well as the safest way of returning to the Hague, was by some of those great boats that pass on the Maese: there was one company in the boat in which he went and two companies went in another that was to be before him: there was also some troops ordered to ride along the banks for their guard. The great boat that went before sailed away too quick, and the horse mistook their way in the night: the French had yet the town of Guelder in their hands, which was indeed all they had of the Spanish Guelder: a party from thence was lying on the banks of the river, waiting for an adventure, and they seized this boat, the whole company being fast asleep: so they had now both the Earl of Marlborough and Opdam, one of the Dutch generals, and Gueldermalsen, one of the states' deputies in their hands: they did not know the Earl of Marlborough, but they knew the other two: they both had passes, according to a civility, usually practised among the generals of both sides. The Earl of Marlborough's brother had a pass, but his ill health made him leave the campaign, so his pass was left with his brother's secretary, and that was now made use of for himself: it is true the date of the pass was out, but they being in haste, and in the night that was not considered: the boat was rifled, and they took presents from those who they believed were protected by their passes; so, after a stop of some hours, they were let go, and happily escaped the danger. The news of their being taken got before them to the Hague; upon which the states immediately met under no small consternation: they sent orders to all their forces, to march immediately to Guelder, and to threaten the garrison with all extremities, unless they should deliver the prisoners; and never to leave the place, till they had either

The Earl of Marlborough taken by a party of the French, got out of their hands.

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taken it, or had the generals delivered to them: but before these orders could be dispatched, the Earl of Marlborough came to the Hague, where he was received with inexpressible joy, not only by the states, but by all the inhabitants; for he was beloved there to a high degree. Soon after his return to England, the Queen made him Duke of Marlborough, and both houses of parliament sent some of their number to him with their thanks for the great services he had done this campaign.

Landaw was  
taken.

The campaign likewise ended happily on the Upper Rhine: Landaw was taken after a long siege: the King of the Romans came in time to have the honour of taking it; but with so great a train, and so splendid an equipage, that the expense of it put all the Emperor's affairs in great disorder; the most necessary things being neglected, while a needless piece of pomp devoured so great a part of their treasure. The siege was stopped some weeks for want of ammunition, but, in conclusion, the place was taken.

The Elector  
of Bavaria  
declares for  
France.

The necessities of the King of France's affairs forced him at this time to grant the Elector of Bavaria all his demands: it is not yet known what they were; but the court of France did not agree to what he asked, till Landaw was given for lost; and then, seeing that the Prince of Baden might have over-run all the Hondruck, and carried his winter quarters into the neighbourhood of France, it was necessary to gain this Elector on any terms. If this agreement had been sooner made, probably the siege, how far soever it was advanced, must have been raised. The Elector made his declaration, when he possessed himself of Ulm, which was a rich free town of the empire: it was taken by a stratagem, that, how successful soever it proved to the Elector, was fatal to him who conducted it, for he was killed by an accident after he was possessed of the town. This gave a great alarm to the neighbouring circles and princes, who called away their troops from the Prince of Baden, to their own defence: by this means, his army was much diminished: but with the troops that were left him, he studied to cut off the communication between Strasbourg and Ulm. The Emperor with the diet proceeded, according to their forms, against the Elector: but he was now engaged, and continued firm to the interests of France. Marshal Villars, who commanded the French

army in Alsatia, had orders to break through the Black Forest, and join the Bavarians: his army was much superior to the Prince of Baden's, but the latter had so posted himself, that, after an unsuccessful attempt, Villars was forced to return to Strasburgh.

In Italy, the Duke of Vendome began with the relief of Mantua, which was reduced to great extremities, by the long blockade Prince Eugene had kept about it: he had so fortified the Oglio, that the Duke of Vendome, apprehending the difficulty of forcing his posts, marched through the Venetian territories (notwithstanding the protestations of the republic against it) and came to Goito, with a great convoy for Mantua. Prince Eugene drew his army all along the Mantuan Fossa, down to Borgofortes: he was forced to abandon a great many places, but apprehending that Bersello might be besieged, and considering the importance of that place, he put a strong garrison in it. He complained much, that the court of Vienna seemed to forget him, and did not send him the reinforcements they had promised: it was thought, that his enemies at that court, under the colour of supporting the King of the Romans in his first campaign, were willing to neglect every thing that related to him; by this means, the best army the Emperor ever had was left to moulder away to nothing.

King Philip took a very extraordinary resolution of going over to Italy, to possess himself of the kingdom of Naples, and to put an end to the war in Lombardy: he was received at Naples with outward splendour, but he made little progress in quieting the minds of that unruly kingdom. He did not obtain the investiture of it from the Pope, though he sent him a cardinal legate with a high compliment: the Germans thought this was too much, while the French thought it was not enough; yet upon it the Emperor's ambassador left Rome. King Philip was conducted from Naples to Finland by the French fleet that had carried him from Barcelona to Naples. As he was going to command the Duke of Vendome's army, he was met by the Duke of Savoy, of whom there was some jealousy, that, having married his two daughters so greatly, he began now to discern his own distinct interest, which called upon him to hinder the French from being masters of the Milanese. King Philip wrote to the Duke of Vendome, not to

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The war in Italy.

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fight Prince Eugene till he could join him: he seemed jealous, lest that Prince should be driven out of Italy, before he could come to share in the honour of it; yet when he came, he could do nothing, though Prince Eugene was miserably abandoned by the court of Vienna. Count Mansfield, president of the council of war, was much suspected, as corrupted by France: the supplies promised were not sent into Italy: the apprehensions they were under of the Elector of Bavaria's declaring some time before he did it, gave a colour to those who were jealous of Prince Eugene's glory, to detain the recruits and troops that had been promised him for the Emperor's own defence: but though he was thus forsaken, yet he managed the force he had about him with great skill and conduct. When he saw Luzara was in danger, he marched up to the King of Spain; and, as that King very oddly expressed it, in a letter to the King of France, he had the boldness (*audace*) to attack him, but which was worse, he had the boldness likewise to beat him; and if he had not been shut in by rivers, and the narrowness of the ground, very probably he would have carried the advantage he had in that engagement much further. The ill state of his affairs forced him upon that desperate action, in which he succeeded beyond expectation: it put the French to such a stand, that all they could do after this was only to take Luzara, and some other inconsiderable places; but Prince Eugene still kept his posts. King Philip left the army, and returned, after an inglorious campaign, into Spain; where the *grandees* were much disgusted to see themselves so much despised, and their affairs wholly conducted by French councils. The French tried, by all possible methods, to engage the Turks in a new war with the Emperor; and it was believed that the Grand Vizier was entirely gained, though the Mufti, and all who had credit in that court, were against it: the Grand Vizier was strangled, and so this design was prevented.

Affairs in  
Poland.

The court of France was in a management with the Cardinal Primate of Poland, to keep that kingdom still embroiled. The King of Sweden marched on to Cracow, which was much censured as a desperate attempt, since a defeat there must have destroyed him and his army entirely, being so far from home. He attacked the King of Poland, and gave him such an overthrow, that though the army got off, he carried both their camp and artillery. He possessed

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himself of Cracow, where he staid some months, till he had raised all the money they could produce; and though the Muscovites, with the Lithuanians, destroyed Livonia, and broke into Sweden; yet that could not call him back. The Duke of Holstein, who had married his eldest sister, was thought to be gained by the French, to push on this young King, to prosecute the war with such an unrelenting fury, in which he might have a design for himself, since the King of Sweden's venturing his own person so freely, might make way for his Dutchess to succeed to the crown. That Duke was killed in the battle of Cracow. There was some hopes of peace this winter; but the two princes were so exasperated against one another, that it seemed impossible to compose that animosity: this was very unacceptable to the allies; for both kings were well inclined to support the confederacy, and to engage in the war against France, if their own quarrels could have been made up. The King of Sweden continued still so virtuous and pious in his whole deportment, that he seemed formed to be one of the heroes of the Reformation. This was the state of affairs on the continent during this campaign.

One unlooked-for accident sprung up in France: an insurrection happened in the Cevennes, in Languedoc: of which I can say nothing that is very particular or well assured. When it first broke out, it was looked on as the effect of oppression and despair, which would quickly end in a scene of blood: but it had a much longer continuance than was expected; and it had a considerable effect on the affairs of France; for an army of ten or twelve thousand men, who were designed either for Italy or Spain, was employed, without any immediate success, in reducing them.

I now change the element, to give an account of our operations at sea: Rook had the command: the fleet put to sea much later than we hoped for: the Dutch fleet came over about a month before ours was ready: the whole consisted of fifty ships of the line, and a land army was put on board of twelve thousand men—seven thousand English, and five thousand Dutch. Rook spoke so coldly of the design he went upon before he sailed, that those who conversed with him were apt to infer, that he intended to do the enemy as little harm as possible. Advice was sent over from Holland, of a fleet that sailed from France,

An insurrection in the Cevennes.

The English fleet sent to Cadiz.

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and was ordered to call in at the Groyne. Munden was recommended by Rook to be sent against this fleet; but though he came up to them with a superior force, yet he behaved himself so ill, and so unsuccessfully, that a council of war was ordered to sit on him: they, indeed, acquitted him, some excusing themselves by saying, that if they had condemned him the punishment was death; whereas, they thought his errors flowed from a want of sense; so that it would have been hard to condemn him for a defect in that which nature had not given him. Those who recommended him to the employment seemed to be more in fault. This acquittal raised such an outcry, that the Queen ordered him to be broke. Rook, to divert the design that he himself was to go upon, wrote up from St. Helen's, that the Dutch fleet was victualled only to the middle of September; so they, being then in July, no great design could be undertaken, when so large a part of the fleet was so ill provided. When the Dutch admiral heard of this, he sent to their ambassador, to complain to the Queen of this misinformation; for he was victualled till the middle of December. They were, for some time, stopped by contrary winds, accidents, and pretences, many of which were thought to be strained and sought for; but the wind being turned wholly favourable, after some cross winds, which had rendered their passage slow and tedious, they came, on the 12th of August, into the Bay of Cadiz. Rook had laid no disposition, beforehand, how to proceed upon his coming thither: some days were lost on pretence of seeking for intelligence. It is certain our court had false accounts of the state the place was in, both with relation to the garrison and the fortifications: the garrison was much stronger and the fortifications were in a better condition than was represented. The French men of war, and the galleys that lay in the bay, retired within the puntals. In the first surprise, it had been easy to have followed them, and to have taken or burnt them; which Fairborn offered to execute, but Rook and the rest of his creatures did not approve of this. Some days were lost before a council of war was called: in the mean while, the Duke of Ormond sent some engineers and pilots to sound the south side of Cadiz, near the island of St. Pedro; but while this was doing, the officers, by the taking of some boats, came to

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know that those of Cadiz had sent over the best of their goods and other effects to the port of St. Maries, an open village over against it, on the continent of Spain; so that here was good plunder to be had easily; whereas the landing on the isle of Cadiz was like to prove dangerous, and, as some made them believe, impracticable. In the council of war, in which their instructions were read, it was proposed to consider how they should put them in execution: O'Haro, one of the general officers, made a long speech against landing: he shewed how desperate an attempt it would prove, and how different they found the state of the place from the representation made of it in England: the greater number agreed with him; and all that the Duke of Ormond could say to the contrary was of no effect. Rook seemed to be of the same mind with the Duke; but all his dependants were of another opinion, so this was thought to be a piece of craft in him: in conclusion, the council of war came to a resolution, not to make a descent upon the island of Cadiz: but, before they broke up, those whom the Duke had sent to sound the landing places on the south side, came and told them, that as they might land safely, so the ships might ride securely on that side; yet they had no regard to this, but adhered to their former resolution; nor were there any orders given for bombarding the town. The sea was, for the most part, very high while they lay there; but it was so calm for one day, that the engineers believed they could have done much mischief, but they had no orders for it: and, indeed, it appeared very evidently, that they intended to do nothing but rob St. Maries.

A landing on the continent was resolved on; and, though the sea was high, and the danger great, yet the hope of spoil made them venture on it; they landed at Rota: a party of Spanish horse seemed to threaten some resistance, but they retired, and so our men came to St. Maries, which they found deserted, but full of riches: both officers and soldiers set themselves, with great courage, against this tempting but harmless enemy: some of the general officers set a very ill example to all the rest, chiefly O'Haro and Bellasis. The Duke of Ormond tried to hinder it, but did not exert his authority; for if he had made some examples at first, he might have prevented the mischief that was done: but the whole army running so violently on the

They landed  
and robbed  
St. Maries.

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spoil, he either was not able, or, through a gentleness of temper, was not willing to proceed to extremities. He had published a manifesto, according to his instructions, by which the Spaniards were invited to submit to the Emperor; and he offered his protection to all that came in to him: but the spoil of St. Maries was thought an ill commentary on that text. After some days of unfruitful trials, on the forts of that side, it appeared that nothing could be done; so, about the middle of September, they all embarked. Some of the ships' crews were so employed, in bringing and bestowing the plunder, that they took not the necessary care to furnish themselves with fresh water. Rook, without prosecuting his other instructions, in case the design on Cadiz miscarried, gave orders only for a squadron to sail to the West Indies with some land forces; and though he had a fleet of victuallers, that had provisions to the middle of December, he ordered them to sail home: by this means, the men of war were so scantily furnished, that they were soon forced to be put on short allowance. Nor did Rook send advice-boats, either to the ports of Algarve, or to Lisbon, to see what orders or advices might be lying for him, but sailed in a direct course for England: but some ships, not being provided with water for the voyage to England, touched on the coast of Algarve, to take in water.

The galleons  
put in at  
Vigo.

They met with intelligence there, that the Spanish Plate fleet, with a good convoy of French men of war, had put in at Vigo, a port in Galicia, not far from Portugal, where the entrance was narrow, and capable of good defence. It widened within land into a bay, or mouth of a river, where the ships lay very conveniently: he who commanded the French fleet, ordered a boom to be laid across the entrance, and forts to be raised on both sides: he had not time to finish what he designed, otherwise the place had been inaccessible: but as it was, the difficulty in forcing this port was believed to be greater than any they would have met with, if they had landed on the Isle of Cadiz. As soon as this fleet had put in at Vigo, Methuen, the Queen's minister at Lisbon, sent advertisements of it to all the places where he thought our advice-boats might be ordered to call: Rook had given no orders for any to call, and so held on his course towards Cape Finisterre: but one of



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his captains, Hardy, whilst he watered in Algarve, heard the news there; upon which, he made all the sail he could after Rook, and overtook him. Rook, upon that, turned his course towards Vigo, very unwillingly as was said, and finding the advice was true, he resolved to force his way in.

The Duke of Ormond landed with a body of the army, and attacked the forts with great bravery, while the ships broke the boom and forced the port. When the French saw what was done, they left their ships, and set some of the men of war and some of the galleons on fire: our men came up with such diligence, that they stopped the progress of the fire, yet fifteen men of war and eight galleons were burnt or sunk; but our men were in time to save five men of war and five galleons, which they took. Here was a great destruction made, and a great booty taken, with very little loss on our side. One of our ships was set on fire by a fire-ship, but she too was saved, though with the loss of some men; which was all the loss we sustained in this important action. The Duke of Ormond marched into the country, and took some forts, and the town of Riondella, where much plunder was found: the French seamen and soldiers escaped, for we, having no horse, were not in a condition to pursue them: the Spaniards appeared, at some distance, in a great body; but they did not offer to enter into any action with the Duke of Ormond: it appeared, that the resentments of that proud nation, which was now governed by French councils, were so high, that they would not put themselves in any danger, or to any trouble, even to save their own fleet, when it was in such hands.

After this great success, it came under consultation, whether it was not advisable to leave a good squadron of ships, with the land forces, to winter at Vigo: the neighbourhood of Portugal made, that they could be well furnished with provisions, and all other necessaries from thence: this might also encourage that King to declare himself, when there was such a force and fleet lying so near him: it might likewise encourage such of the Spaniards as favoured the Emperor to declare themselves, when they saw a safe place of retreat, and a force to protect them: the Duke of Ormond, upon these considerations, offered to stay, if Rook would have consented; but he excused it; he had sent home the victuallers with the stores, and so he

But they  
were burnt  
or taken by  
the English.

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could not spare what was necessary for such as would stay there : and indeed he had so ordered the matter, that he could not stay long enough to try whether they could raise and search the men of war and the galleons that were sunk : he was obliged to make all possible haste home ; and if the wind had turned to the east, which was ordinary in that season, a great part of our ships' crews must have died of hunger.

The English  
fleet came  
back to  
England.

The wind continued favourable, so they go home safe, but half starved. Thus ended this expedition, which was ill projected, and worse executed. The Duke of Ormond told me, he had not half the ammunition that was necessary for the taking Cadiz, if they had defended themselves well : though he believed they would not have made any great resistance, if he had landed on his first arrival, and not given them time to recover from the disorder into which the first surprise had put them. A great deal of the treasure taken at Vigo was embezzled, and fell into private hands : one of the galleons foundered at sea. The public was not much enriched by this extraordinary capture, yet the loss our enemies made by it was a vast one ; and to complete the ruin of the Spanish merchants, their King seized on the plate that was taken out of the ships, upon their first arrival at Vigo. Thus the campaign ended ; very happily for the allies, and most gloriously for the Queen ; whose first year, being such a continued course of success, gave a hopeful presage of what might be hereafter expected.

A new  
parliament.

The session of parliament comes next to be related. The Queen did not openly interpose in the elections, but her inclination to the tories appeared plainly, all people took it for granted, that she wished they might be the majority : this wrought on the inconstancy and servility that is natural to multitudes : and the conceit, which had been infused and propagated with much industry, that the whigs had charged the nation with great taxes, of which a large share had been devoured by themselves, had so far turned the tide, that the tories in the House of Commons were at least double the number of the whigs. They met full of fury against the memory of the late King, and against those who had been employed by him. The first instance wherein this appeared, was in their address to the Queen, congratulating her great successes : they added, that by her

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wise and happy conduct, the honour of the kingdom was "retrieved." The word "retrieved" implying that it was formerly lost, all that had a just regard to the King's memory opposed it: he had carried the honour of the nation further than had been done in any reign before his: to him they owed their preservation, their safety, and even the Queen's being on the throne: he had designed and formed that great confederacy, at the head of which she was now set. In opposition to this, it was now said, that during his reign, things had been conducted by strangers, and trusted to them; and that a vast treasure had been spent in unprofitable campaigns in Flanders. The partition treaty, and every thing else, with which the former reign could be loaded, was brought into the account, and the keeping the word "retrieved," in the address, was carried by a great majority: all that had favour at court, or hoped for any, going into it. Controverted elections were judged in favour of tories, with such a barefaced partiality, that it shewed the party was resolved on every thing that might serve their ends.

Of this I shall only give two instances: the one was of the borough of Hindon, near me at Salisbury, where upon a complaint of bribery, the proof was so full and clear, that they ordered a bill to disfranchise the town for that bribery; and yet, because the bribes were given by a man of their party, they would not pass a vote on him as guilty of it; so that a borough was voted to lose its right of electing, because many in it were guilty of a corruption, in which no man appeared to be the actor. The other was of more importance, and because it may be set up for a precedent, I will be more particular in the report. Mr. John How had been vice-chamberlain to the late Queen, but missing some of those advantages that he had proposed to himself, he had gone into the highest opposition that was made in the House of Commons to the court during the last reign; not without many indecent reflections on the person of the late King, and a most virulent attacking of all his ministers: he was a man of some wit, but of little judgment, and of small principles of religion: he stood knight of the shire for Gloucestershire, and had drawn a party in that county to join with him in an address to the Queen, in which reflections were made on the danger and ill usage she had

Great partiality in judging elections.

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gone through in the former reign. This address was received by the Queen, in so particular a manner, that it looked like the owning that the contents of it were true; but she made such an excuse for this, when the offence it gave was laid before her, that probably she was not acquainted with the matter of the address, when she so received it. Upon this, great opposition was made to his election: when it came to the poll, it appeared he had lost it; so the sheriff was moved for a scrutiny, to examine whether all those who had sworn that they were freeholders of forty shillings a year, had sworn true. By the act of parliament, the matter was referred to the parties' oath, and their swearing false was declared perjury: therefore such as had sworn falsely were liable to a prosecution; but, by all laws, an oath is looked upon as an end of controversy, till he who swore is convict of perjury; and the sheriff, being an officer named by the court, if he had a power to review the poll, this put the election of counties wholly in the power of the crown: yet, upon this occasion, the heat of a party prevailed so far, that they voted How duly elected.

All the  
supply  
agreed to.

The House of Commons very unanimously, and with great dispatch, agreed to all the demands of the court, and voted all the supplies that were necessary for carrying on the war. Upon the Duke of Marlborough's coming over, a new demand for an additional force was made, since the King of France had given out commissions for a great increase of his armies: upon that, the states moved the Queen for ten thousand more men: this was consented to, but with a condition, which how reasonable soever it might be in itself, yet the manner in which it was managed, shewed a very ill disposition towards the Dutch; and in the debate, they were treated very indecently. It was insisted on that before the pay of these new troops should begin, the states should prohibit all trade with France, and break off all correspondence with that kingdom. It was indeed true, that France could not have supplied their armies in Italy, but by the means of this secret trade, so it was reasonable to break it; but the imposing it on the Dutch, in the manner in which this was pressed, carried in it too high a strain of authority over them. Theirs is a country that subsists not by any intrinsic wealth of their own, but by their trade; some seemed to hope that the opposition which would be

raised on this head, might force a peace, at which many among us were driving so indecently that they took little care to conceal it. The states resolved to comply with England in every thing, and though they did not like the manner of demanding this, yet they readily consented to it. The ordinary business of a session of parliament was soon dispatched, no opposition being made to the supply, at which in the former reign things stuck longest.

When those matters were settled, a bill was brought in by the tories against occasional conformity which produced great and long debates: by this bill, all those who took the sacrament and test (which by the act passed in the year 1673, was made necessary to those who held offices of trust, or were magistrates in corporations, but was only to be taken once by them) and did after that go to the meetings of dissenters, or any meeting for religious worship that was not according to the Liturgy or practice of the church of England, where five persons were present more than the family, were disabled from holding their employments, and were to be fined in an 100*l.* and in 5*l.* a day for every day, in which they continued to act in their employments, after their having been at any such meeting: they were also made incapable to hold any other employment, till after one whole year's conformity to the church, which was to be proved at the quarter session: upon a relapse, the penalty and the time of incapacity were doubled: no limitation of time was put in the bill, nor of the way in which the offence was to be proved: but whereas, the act of the test only included the magistrates in corporation, all the inferior officers or freemen in corporations, who were found to have some interest in the elections, were now comprehended within this bill. The preamble of the bill asserted the toleration, and condemned all persecution for conscience sake in a high strain: some thought the bill was of no consequence, and that, if it should pass into a law, it would be of no effect; but that the occasional conformists would become constant ones. Others thought, that this was such a breaking in upon the toleration, as would undermine it, and that it would have a great effect on corporations; as, indeed, the intent of it was believed to be, the modelling elections, and by consequence the House of Commons.

On behalf of the bill, it was said, the design of the test

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A bill  
against oc-  
casional  
conformity.

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Great de-  
bates about  
it.

act was, that all in office should continue in the communion of the church: that coming only once to the sacrament for an office, and going afterwards to the meetings of dissenters, was both an eluding the intent of the law, and a profanation of the sacrament, which gave great scandal, and was abhorred by the better sort of dissenters. Those who were against the bill, said, the nation had been quiet ever since the toleration, the dissenters had lost more ground and strength by it than the church. The nation was now engaged in a great war; it seemed therefore unseasonable to raise animosities at home in matters of religion at such a time; and to encourage a tribe of informers, who were the worst sort of men: the fines were excessive; higher than any laid on papists by law; and since no limitation of time, nor concurrence of witnesses, was provided for in the bill, men would be for ever exposed to the malice of a bold swearer, or wicked servant. It was moved, that since the greatest danger of all was from atheists and papists, that all such as received the sacrament for an office, should be obliged to receive it three times a year, which all were by law required to do; and to keep to their parish church, at least one Sunday a month; but this was not admitted. All who pleaded for the bill, did in words declare for the continuance of the toleration, yet the sharpness with which they treated the dissenters in all their speeches, shewed as if they designed their extirpation. The bill was carried in the House of Commons by a great majority. The debates held longer in the House of Lords: many were against it, because of the high penalties. Some remembered the practice of informers, in the end of King Charles's reign, and would not consent to the reviving such infamous methods: all believed that the chief design of this bill was to model corporations, and to cast out of them all those who would not vote in elections for tories. The toleration itself was visibly aimed at, and this was only a step to break in upon it. Some thought the design went yet further, to raise such quarrels and distractions among us, as would so embroil us at home, that our allies might see they could not depend upon us; and that we, being weakened by the disorders occasioned by those prosecutions, might be disabled from carrying on the war, which was the chief thing driven at by the promoters of the bill; so that many of the lords, as

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well as the bishops, agreed in opposing this bill, though upon different views : yet they consented to some parts of it ; chiefly, that such as went to meetings, after they had received the sacrament, should be disabled from holding any employments, and be fined in 20*l.* : many went into this, though they were against every part of the bill, because they thought this the most plausible way of losing it ; since the House of Commons had of late set it up for a maxim, that the Lords could not alter the fines that they should fix in a bill, this being a meddling with money, which they thought was so peculiar to them, that they would not let the Lords, on any pretence, break in upon it.

The Lords hereupon appointed a very exact search to be made into all the rolls that lay in the clerk of the parliament's office, from the middle of King Henry the Seventh's reign, down to the present time ; and they found, by some hundreds of precedents, that in some bills the Lords began the clauses that set the fines ; and that when fines were set by the Commons, sometimes they altered the fines, and at other times they changed the use to which they were applied. The report of this was so full and clear, that there was no possibility of replying to it, and the Lords ordered it to be entered in their books ; but the Commons were resolved to maintain their point, without entering into any debate upon it. The Lords also added clauses, requiring proof to be made by two witnesses, and that the information should be given in within ten days, and the prosecution commenced within three months after the fact. The Commons agreed to this ; but would not alter the penalties that they had set. The thing depended long between the two houses ; both sides took pains to bring up the lords that would vote with them ; so that there were above an hundred and thirty lords in the House : the greatest number that had ever been together.

The court put their whole strength to carry the bill. Prince George, who had received the sacrament, as lord high admiral, and yet kept his chapel in the Lutheran way, so that he was an occasional communicant, came and voted for the bill. After some conferences, wherein each house had yielded some smaller differences to the other, it came to a free conference in the painted chamber, which was the most crowded, upon that occasion, that had

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ever been known; so much weight was laid on this matter on both sides.

The two  
houses dis-  
agreeing,  
the bill was  
lost.

When the Lords retired, and it came to the final vote “of adhering,” the Lords were so equally divided, that in three questions, put on different heads, the “adhering” was carried but by one voice in every one of them; and it was a different person that gave it in all the three divisions. The Commons likewise adhered, so the bill was lost. This bill seemed to favour the interests of the church, so hot men were for it: and the greater number of the bishops being against it, they were censured as cold and slack in the concerns of the church; a reproach that all moderate men must expect, when they oppose violent motions. A great part of this fell on myself: for I bore a large share in the debates, both in the House of Lords, and at the free conference. Angry men took occasion from hence, to charge the bishops as enemies to the church, and betrayers of its interests; because we would not run blindfold into the passions and designs of ill-tempered men; though we can appeal to all the world, and, which is more, to God himself, that we did faithfully and zealously pursue the true interests of the church, the promoting religion and learning, the encouraging of all good men, and good designs: and that we did apply ourselves to the duties of our function, and to the work of the gospel. Having this quiet within ourselves, we must bear the cross, and submit to the will of God: the less of our reward that we receive from men, we have so much the more to look for from him.

A bill for  
Prince  
George.

While the bill, that had raised so much heat, was in agitation, the Queen sent a message to the Commons, desiring them to make some suitable provision for Prince George, in case he should outlive her. He was many years older than the Queen, and was troubled with an asthma, that every year had ill effects on his health: it had brought him into great danger this winter, yet the Queen thought it became her to provide for all events; How moved, that it should be an 100,000*l.* a year: this was seconded by those, who knew how acceptable the motion would be to the Queen; though it was the double of what any Queen in England ever had in jointure; so it passed without any opposition: but while it was passing, a motion was made upon a clause in the act, which limited the succession to

Debates on  
a clause that  
was in it.



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the Hanover family; which provided against strangers, though naturalized, being capable to hold any employments among us: this plainly related only to those who should be naturalized in a future reign, and had no retrospect to such as were already naturalized, or should be naturalized during the present reign. It was, however, proposed as doubtful, whether when that family might reign, all who were naturalized before should not be incapacitated by that clause, from sitting in parliament, or holding employments; and a clause was offered to except the Prince, from being comprehended in that incapacity. Against this two objections lay: one was, that the Lords had resolved, by a vote, to which the greater number had set their hands, that they would never pass any money bill, sent up to them by the Commons, to which any clause was tacked, that was foreign to the bill. They had done this to prevent the Commons from fastening matters, of a different nature, to a money-bill, and then pretending, that the Lords could not meddle with it; for this was a method to alter the government, and bring it entirely into their own hands: by this means, when money was necessary for preserving the nation, they might force, not only the Lords, but the crown, to consent to every thing they proposed, by tacking it to a money bill. It was said, that a capacity for holding employments, and for sitting in the House of Lords, were things of a different nature from money; so that this clause seemed to many to be a tack; whereas others thought it was no tack, because both parts of the act related to the same person. The other objection was, that this clause seemed to imply, that persons already naturalized, and in possession of the rights of natural born subjects, were to be excluded in the next reign; though all people knew, that no such thing was intended, when the act of succession passed. Great opposition was made, for both these reasons, to the passing this clause; but the Queen pressed it with the greatest earnestness she had yet shewed in any thing whatsoever: she thought it became her, as a good wife, to have the act passed; in which she might be the more earnest; because it was not thought advisable, to move for an act that should take Prince George into a consortship of the regal dignity. This matter raised a great heat in the House of Lords: those who had been advanced by the late King,

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and were in his interests, did not think it became them to consent to this, which seemed to be a prejudice, or at least a disgrace to those whom he had raised. The court managed the matter so dexterously, that the bill passed, and the Queen was highly displeased with those who had opposed it; among whom I had my share. The clause was put in the bill, by some in the House of Commons, only because they believed it would be opposed by those, against whom they intended to irritate the Queen.

A further  
security to  
the protes-  
tant succe-  
sion.

Soon after this, the Commons sent up a bill in favour of those who had not taken the oath, abjuring the Prince of Wales, by the day that was named; granting them a year longer to consider of it: for it was said, that the whole party was now come entirely into the Queen's interests: though, on the other hand, it was given out, that agents were come from France, on design to persuade all persons to take the abjuration, that they might become capable of employments, and so might in time be a majority in parliament; and, by that means, the act of succession, and the oath imposed by it, might be repealed. When the bill for thus prolonging the time was brought up to the Lords, a clause was added, qualifying those persons, who should in the new extent of time take the oaths, to return to their benefices or employments, unless they were already legally filled. When this was agreed, two clauses of much greater consequence were added to the bill. One was, declaring it high treason to endeavour to defeat the succession to the crown, as it was now limited by law, or to set aside the next successor. This had a precedent in the former reign, so it could not be denied now: it seemed the more necessary, because there was another person who openly claimed the crown: so that a further security might well be insisted on. This was a great surprise to many, who were visibly uneasy at the motion, but were not prepared for it, and did not see how it could be resisted. The other clause was for sending the abjuration to Ireland, and obliging all there (in the same manner as in England) to take it. This seemed the more reasonable, considering the strength of the popish interest there. Both clauses passed in the House of Lords, without any opposition; but it was apprehended, that the House of Commons would not be so easy: yet when it was sent to them, they struggled only against the first clause,

that barred the return of persons, upon their taking the oaths, into the places that were already filled. The party tried their strength upon this; and, upon their success in it, they seemed resolved to dispute the other clause: but it was carried, though only by one voice, to agree with the Lords. When the clause relating to the succession was read, Musgrave tried if it might not be made a bill by itself, and not put as a clause in another bill: but he saw the House was resolved to receive both clauses, so he did not insist on his motion. All people were surprised to see a bill, that was begun in favour of the jacobites, turned so terribly upon them; since by it we had a new security given, both in England and Ireland, for a protestant successor.

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At this time the Earl of Rochester quitted his place of lord lieutenant of Ireland: he was uneasy at the preference which the Duke of Marlborough had in the Queen's confidence, and at the Lord Godolphin's being lord treasurer. It was generally believed, he was endeavouring to embroil our affairs, and that he was laying a train of opposition in the House of Commons: the Queen sent a message to him, ordering him to make ready to go to Ireland; for it seemed very strange, especially in a time of war, that a person in so great a post, should not attend upon it; but he, after some days advising about it, went to the Queen, and desired to be excused from that employment: this was readily accepted, and upon that he withdrew from the councils. It was immediately offered to the Duke of Ormond, and he was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. The Duke of Ormond, upon his first arrival from the expedition to Cadiz, complained very openly of Rook's conduct, and seemed resolved to carry the matter to a public accusation: but the court found the party that prevailed in the House of Commons determined to justify Rook: so, to comply with this, the Queen made him a privy counsellor, and much pains were taken on the Duke of Ormond to stifle his resentments. He was in a great measure softened, yet he had made his complaints to so many lords, that they moved the House to examine both his instructions and the journals relating to that expedition. A committee of the House of Peers sat long upon the matter: they examined all the admirals and land officers, as well as

The Earl of Rochester laid down his employments.

Rook's conduct examined and justified.

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Rook himself, upon the whole progress of that affair. Rook was so well supported by the court, and by his party in the House of Commons, that he seemed to despise all that the Lords could do. Some, who understood sea matters, said, that it appeared from every motion that he made during the expedition, that he intended to do nothing but amuse and make a shew: they also concluded, from the protection that the ministry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much pains to shew, how improper a thing a descent on Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt must have proved: and in doing this, he arraigned his instructions, and the design he was sent on, with great boldness, and shewed little regard to the ministers; who took more pains to bring him off, than to justify themselves. The Lords of the committee prepared a report, which was hard upon Rook, and laid it before the House; but so strong a party was made, to oppose every thing that reflected on him, that though every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favour, justifying his whole conduct. The great employment given to the Duke of Ormond so effectually prevailed on him, that though the inquiry was set on by his means, and upon his suggestions, yet he came not to the House when it was brought to a conclusion: so Rook, being but faintly pushed by him, and most zealously supported by his party, was justified by a vote, though universally condemned by more impartial judges. The behaviour of the ministry in this matter heightened the jealousies with which many were possessed, for it was inferred, that they were not in earnest in his whole expedition; since the conduct, being so contrary to the instructions, their justifying the one was plainly condemning the other.

The inquiry  
made into  
the public  
accounts.

The report made by the commissioners, appointed to take the public accounts, was another business, that took up much time in this session, and occasioned many debates. They pretended, that they had made great discoveries: they began with the Earl of Ranelagh, who had been in great posts, and had all the arts that were necessary to recommend a man in a court; who stuck at nothing, that could maintain his interest with those whom he served: he had been pay-master of the army in King James's time; and being very fit for the post, he had been continued all the

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last reign: he had lived high, and so it was believed his appointments could not support so great an expense: he had an account of 21,000,000*l.* lay upon him. It was given out, that a great deal of the money lodged in his office, for the pay of the army, was diverted to other uses, distributed among favourites, or given to corrupt members of parliament; and that some millions had been sent over to Holland: it had been often said, that great discoveries would be made, whensoever his accounts were looked into; and that he, to save himself, would lay open the ill practices of the former reign: but now, when all was brought under a strict examination, a few inconsiderable articles, of some hundreds of pounds, was all that could be found to be objected to him; and even to these, he gave clear and full answers. At last they found, that, upon the breaking of a regiment, a sum which he had issued out for its pay, had been returned to his office, the regiment being broke sooner than that pay was exhausted; and that no entry of this was made in his accounts. To this he answered, that his officer, who received the money, was, within three days after, taken so ill of a confirmed stone, that he never came again to the office, but died in great misery; and during those three days he had not entered that sum in the books. Lord Ranelagh acknowledged, that he was liable to account for all the money that was received by his under officers; but here was no crime or fraud designed; yet this was so aggravated, that he saw his good post was his greatest guilt: so he quitted that, which was divided into two: one was appointed to be pay-master of the guards and garrisons at home; and another, of the forces that were kept beyond sea: How had the first, as being the more lasting post. With this, all the clamour raised against the Earl of Ranelagh was let fall; yet, to make a shew of severity, he was expelled the House: but he appeared, upon all this canvassing, to be much more innocent, than even his friends had believed him.

The clamour that had been long kept up against the former ministry, as devourers of the public treasure, was of such use to the party, that they resolved to continue it by all possible methods; so a committee of the House of Commons prepared a long address to the Queen, reflecting on the ill management of the funds, upon which they laid the

The clamour  
against the  
former reign  
still kept up.

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great debt of the nation, and not upon the deficiencies : this was branched out into many particulars, which were all heavily aggravated : yet, though a great part of the outcry had been formerly made against Russel, treasurer of the navy, and his office, they found not so much as a colour to fix a complaint there : nor could they charge any thing on the Chancery, the Treasury, or the administration of justice. Great complaints were made of some accounts that stood long out, and they insisted on some pretended neglects, the old methods of the Exchequer not having been exactly followed, though it did not appear that the public suffered in any sort by those failures. They kept up a clamour likewise against the commissioners of the prizes, though they had passed their accounts as the law directed, and no objection was made to them. The address was full of severe reflections and spiteful insinuations ; and thus it was carried to the Queen, and published to the nation, as the sense of the Commons of England.

It was examined by the Lords, and found to be ill-grounded.

The Lords, to prevent the ill impressions this might make, appointed a committee to examine all the observations that the commissioners of accounts had offered to both houses : they searched all the public offices, and were amazed to find that there was not one article, in all the long address that the Commons had made to the Queen, or in the observations then before them, that was of any importance, but what was false in fact. They found the deficiencies in the former reign were of two sorts : the one was of sums that the Commons had voted, but for which they had made no sort of provision ; the other was, where the supply that was given came short of the sum it was estimated at : and between these two, the deficiencies amounted to fourteen millions : this was the root of the great debt that lay on the nation. They examined into all the pretended mismanagement, and found that what the Commons had stated so invidiously was mistaken. So far had the late King and his ministers been from misapplying the money that was given for public occasions, that he applied three millions to the public service, that by law was his own money, of which they made up the account. They also found, that some small omissions in some of the forms of the Exchequer, were of no consequence, and neither had nor could have any ill effect : and whereas a great

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**clamour** was raised against passing of accounts by privy seals, they put an end to that effectually, when it appeared on what ground this was done. By the antient methods of the Exchequer, every account was to be carried on, so that the new officer was to begin his account with the balance of the former account. Sir Edward Seymour, who had been treasurer of the navy, owed by his last account 180,000*l.* and he had received after that 140,000*l.* for which the accounts were never made up: now it was not possible for those who came after him to be liable for his accounts: therefore the treasurers of the navy in the last reign, were forced to take out privy seals for making up their accounts: these imported no more than that they were to account only for the money that they themselves had received; for in all other respects, their accounts were to pass, according to the ordinary methods of the Exchequer. Complaints had been also made of the remissness of the Lords of the Treasury, or their officers, appointed to account with the receivers of counties for the aids that had been given: but when this was examined, it appeared that this had been done with such exactness, that of the sum of twenty four millions, for which they had accounted, there was not owing above 60,000*l.*, and that was for the most part in Wales, where it was not thought advisable to use too much rigour in raising it: and of that sum, there was not above 14,000*l.* that was to be reckoned as lost. The collectors of the customs likewise answered all the observations made on their accounts so fully, that the House of Commons was satisfied with their answers, and dismissed them, without so much as a reprimand. All this was reported to the House of Lords, and they laid it before the Queen in an address, which was afterwards printed with the vouchers to every particular; by this means, it was made out to the satisfaction of the whole nation, how false those reports were, which had been so industriously spread, and were so easily believed by the greater part; for the bulk of mankind will be always apt to think that courts and ministers serve their own ends, and study to enrich themselves at the public cost. This examination held long, and was followed with great exactness, and had all the effect that could be desired from it; for it silenced that noise which the late King's

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enemies had raised, to asperse him and ministers. With this the session of parliament ended. In it the Lords had rendered themselves very considerable, and had gained an universal reputation over the whole nation: it is true, those who had opposed the persons that had carried matters before them in this session, were so near them in number, that things of the greatest consequence were carried only by one or two voices; therefore, as they intended to have a clear majority in both houses, in the next session they prevailed with the Queen, soon after the prorogation, to create four new peers, who had been the violentest of the whole party; Finch, Gower, Granvil, and young Seymour, were made barons. Great reflections were made upon this promotion. When some severe things had been thrown out in the House of Commons upon the opposition that they met with from the Lords, it was insinuated, that it would be easy to find men of merit and estate to make a clear majority in that House: this was an open declaration of a design, to put every thing in the hands and power of that party: it was also an encroachment on one of the tenderest points of the prerogative, to make motions of creating peers in the House of Commons. Hervey, though of the other side, was at the same time made a baron by private favour. Thus the session of parliament was brought to a much better conclusion than could have been reasonably expected, by those who knew of whom it was constituted, and how it had begun. No harm was done in it; the succession was fortified by a new security, and the popular clamours of corruption and peculate, with which the nation had been so much possessed, were in a great measure dissipated.

Some new  
peers made.

The pro-  
ceedings in  
convocation.

The proceedings of the convocation, which sat at the same time, are next to be related: at the first opening of it, there was a contest between the two houses that lasted some days, concerning an address to the Queen. The lower house intended to cast some reflections on the former reign, in imitation of what the House of Commons had done, and these were worded so invidiously, that most of the bishops were pointed at by them; but the upper house refusing to concur, the lower house receded, and so they both agreed in a very decent address. The Queen received it graciously, promising all favour and protection to the church, and exhorting them all to peace and union among them-



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selves. After this, the lower house made an address to the bishops, that they might find an expedient for putting an end to those disputes that had stopped the proceedings of former convocations: the bishops resolved to offer them all that they could, without giving up their character and authority: so they made a proposition, that, in the intervals of sessions, the lower house might appoint committees to prepare matters, and when business was brought regularly before them, that the Archbishop should so order the prorogations, that they might have convenient and sufficient time to sit and deliberate about it. This fully satisfied many of that body; but the majority thought this kept the matter still in the Archbishop's power, as it was indeed intended it should: so they made another application to the bishops, desiring them to refer the points in question to the Queen's decision, and to such as she should appoint to hear and settle them. To this the bishops answered, that they reckoned themselves safe and happy in the Queen's protection, and would pay all due submission to her pleasure and orders; but the rights, which the constitution of the church and the law had vested in them, were trusts lodged with them, which they were to convey to their successors, as they had received them from their predecessors, and that it was not in their power to refer them. It would have been a strange sight, very acceptable to the enemies of the church, chiefly to papists, to see the two houses of convocation pleading their authority and rights before a committee of council, that was to determine the matter. This failing, the lower house tried what they could obtain of the House of Commons; but they could not be carried further than a general vote, which amounted to nothing, that they would stand by them in all their just rights and privileges. They next made a separate address to the Queen, desiring her protection, praying her to hear and determine the dispute: she received this favourably; she said, she would consider of it, and send them her answer. The matter was now brought into the hands of the ministers: the Earl of Nottingham was of their side, but confessed that he understood not the controversy: the judges and the Queen's council were ordered to examine how the matter stood in point of law, which was thus stated to them: the constant practice, as far as we had books or records, was, that the Archbishop prorogued the

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convocation by a schedule: of this the form was so fixed, that it could not be altered but by act of parliament: there was a clause in the schedule, that continued all matters before the convocation, in the state in which they then were, to the day to which he prorogued them: this made it evident, that there could be no intermediate session, for a session of the lower house could, by passing a vote in any matter, alter the state in which it was. It was kept a secret, what opinions the lawyers came to in this matter. It was not doubted, but they were against the pretensions of the lower house: the Queen made no answer to their address; and it was believed, that the reason of this was, because the answer must, according to the opinion of lawyers, have been contrary to what they expected: and therefore the ministers chose rather to give no answer, and that it should seem to be forgot, than that such an one should be given as would put an end to the debate, which they intended to cherish and support.

The lower house finding, that by opposing their bishops in so rough, as well as in so unheard-of a manner, they were represented as favourers of presbytery; to clear themselves of that imputation, came suddenly into a conclusion that episcopacy was of divine and apostolical right. The party that stuck together in their votes, and kept their intermediate sessions, signed this, and brought it up to the bishops, desiring them to concur in settling the matter; so that it might be the standing rule of the church. This was a plain attempt to make a canon or constitution without obtaining a royal licence, which, by the statute confirming the submission of the clergy in King Henry the Eighth's time, made both them, and all who chose them, incur a premunire: so the bishops resolved not to entertain the proposition, and a great many of the lower house, apprehending what the consequence of such proceedings might be, by a petition to the bishops, prayed that it might be entered in their books, that they had not concurred in that definition, nor in the address made pursuant to it. The lower house looked on what they did in this matter as a masterpiece; for if the bishops concurred with them, they reckoned they gained their point; and if they refused it, they resolved to make them, who would not come up to such a positive definition, pass for secret favourers of presbytery.

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But the bishops saw into their designs, and sent them for answer, That they acquiesced in the declaration that was already made on that head, in the preface to the Book of Ordinations; and that they did not think it safe, either for them or for the clergy, to go further in that matter, without a royal license. To this, a dark answer was made, and so all these matters were at a full stand, when the session came to an end by the prorogation of the parliament; which was become necessary, the two houses being fixed in an opposition to one another.

From those disputes in convocation divisions ran through the whole body of the clergy, and to fix these, new names were found out: they were distinguished by the names of High Church and Low Church. All that treated the dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed a zeal against the Prince of Wales, and for the Revolution; that wished well to the present war, and to the alliance against France, were represented as secret favourers of presbytery, and as ill affected to the church, and were called, "Low Churchmen." It was said, that they were in the church only while the law and preferences were on its side; but that they were ready to give it up as soon as they saw a proper time for declaring themselves. With these false and invidious characters did the High Party endeavour to load all those, who could not be brought into their measures and designs. When the session was at an end, the court was wholly taken up with the preparations for the campaign.

Great distractions among the clergy.

END OF VOL. III.

















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